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# *The Shape of Things*

THE DARK CHRISTMAS OF 1944 WAS SPENT BY most Americans with soldiers in battle. And most Americans did some hard thinking about the meaning of peace and war. For the lightning thrusts of the Panzers had caught off guard not only the forces of our First Army but also a complacent public for whom the war was all but won. We would call our readers' attention to Charles Bolté's thoughtful analysis of the lessons to be drawn from this almost incredible reversal of military fortunes. This is a different sort of war—and we cannot say it too often. And if it is to result in the kind of peace we hope for, it must be treated as a different sort of war by civilians. We have no right to demand of our armies and our allies the genuine liberation of Europe unless we at home are committed with a single mind to the ends for which men are dying. Perhaps the shock of the counter-offensive will have the salutary effect of revealing to the American people how complete is their involvement in the war's outcome.

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THE THOUGHTS OF EVERY ANTI-FASCIST THESE days are fixed upon the anti-fascists of Belgium, Luxembourg, and France, who for the second time during this war face the horrors of invasion. Nothing in the reports of the great German offensive has been more tragic than the descriptions of Belgians trying to climb aboard the retreating vehicles of the American army, asking Americans if they would not take them along, even to kill them, for they would prefer to die at their hands than at the hands of the Nazis. They know well that the Nazis, having learned that the population is 95 per cent pro-Ally, will now treat the people with a brutality that has no limit. And it will be difficult to forget the stories of old men and women in the towns and villages near Liège stealing through the dark streets to wash the walls clean of anti-Nazi slogans, while young men rushed to American headquarters begging to join the fight. The Allied commanders have rejected their pleas, perhaps because the confusion of the moment made it difficult to think of organizing civilians, or perhaps because of Anglo-American hostility to the movements of resistance which became clear everywhere after liberation. Here we come face to face with the major political problem of the past weeks. What are the Allies to do if the Germans advance further into Belgium and France and the support of the forces of resistance again becomes necessary? Is there any military leader with courage enough to appeal to the Belgians to fight at the side of the Allies after Allied tanks and soldiers

turned their guns upon the people of Brussels demanding the right to keep their arms until the fascists had been destroyed?

*

AT THE MOMENT WHEN ALLIED ARMIES IN THE West are locked in decisive battle with the enemy, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden have flown to Athens. This dramatic and surprising move, whatever its consequences for the Greek people, clearly gives the lie to the opinion, still official in Britain, that the E. L. A. S. forces are a small minority of "ruffians," "gangsters," and Communists. The inadequacy of the British position became patent last week when the right-wing E. D. E. S., long recognized by Britain as the authentic Greek resistance movement and abundantly supplied with gold sovereigns and tommy guns, utterly collapsed in Epirus before the E. L. A. S. forces. Now the E. A. M. and its fighting branch, E. L. A. S., emerge as the only resistance movement in Greece and the actual masters of the country, for General Scobie's troops have only secured against the E. L. A. S. a small part of Attica. Faced with the total bankruptcy of British policy in Greece and with the bitter opposition of a large proportion of the British public, Mr. Churchill is obviously trying to salvage what he may. The Central E. L. A. S. Committee was invited to send delegates to take part in a meeting of political groups, over which Archbishop Damaskinos, who has no status in the puppet government, rather than Premier Papandreou, was asked to preside. The E. A. M. has won a great victory, and it may be hoped the political lesson of Greece will affect Allied policy in other liberated areas.

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LAST THURSDAY AT A PRESS CONFERENCE Secretary Ickes told reporters that he had declined an invitation to speak at "an anti-Franco" meeting at Madison Square Garden on January 2. "I would like to express my opinion of the gentleman," Mr. Ickes said, "but because of my official position I do not believe that I should do so." We are awfully sorry not to have the redoubtable Secretary of the Interior at our great rally. He would add color, force, and the weight of his vigorous democratic opinion to the protest. But after reading his comment we are inclined to think that he has said his say pretty effectively, without overstepping official proprieties in the least or openly transgressing restrictions laid down by other departments of the government.

IN EARLY ISSUES OF *THE NATION*

*Keith Hutchison is just back from England: next week he reports on "Britain—Sixth Winter." Hollywood is in the searchlight. John Grierson, distinguished documentary authority and head of the Canadian Film Board, contributes two articles: "Will Hollywood Help the Peace?" and "Movies Without Theaters." Dorothy Jones of Los Angeles writes on "The War à la Hollywood" and "Is Hollywood Swinging Left?" Also, in January,* Nation *readers may expect articles by Stuart Chase, Carey McWilliams, and Sidney Hook.*

# *Franco Loses a Friend*

FOR five years Lord Templewood, the former Sir Samuel Hoare, rendered Franco great service by helping him keep up the farce of neutrality before the world. At the moment of his retirement as Ambassador to Spain, His Lordship has at last rendered service to his own country and to the United Nations. Speaking in the House of Lords, he astounded his aristocratic colleagues with a description of how he, the representative of His Majesty's Government, was besieged by the Gestapo in Madrid. Some of his words are worth quoting: "I had many instances in my own experience of this non-military occupation. I had the Gestapo living in the next house looking over a wall watching every movement I made and constantly trying to suborn my domestic staff." And further, "I saw what was more sinister —how the Gestapo would seize some man or woman in Spanish territory and take them over the frontier to death or torture in Germany or one of the occupied countries."

By making these revelations after five years in Franco Spain His Lordship may have relieved his conscience, the conscience of a member of the British ruling class. But his frank statement hardly closes the matter. It still leaves room for a good many questions and for a good deal of analysis.

The first question that comes to mind is this: Did the Ambassador inform his government in due time about the undignified situation to which an envoy of a great and proud nation was subjected in a "neutral" country? If the British government was informed, how could the Prime Minister speak of General Franco as he did last summer, when he insulted the entire democratic world with his enthusiastic pro-Franco declarations in the House of Commons? Let us accept, if without any great conviction, the old argument that continued appeasement was necessary to keep Franco out of the war. Since 1943, when the military situation no longer allowed Germany to send an army through Spain, the argument of military expediency has been gradually losing any strength it may once have had. But, to be generous, let us pretend it was true; that the British and American governments were justified, on military grounds, in eliminating any chance that Franco might make conclusive arrangements with Hitler. The least we could have expected from a British Prime Minister who "had not come to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire" was enough imperial dignity to refrain from praising the man who allowed the British Ambassador to be treated as Lord Templewood was treated in Madrid.

The second question is this: Why did Lord Templewood, in recounting the activities of the Nazis in Spain, not tell the whole story of their operations within the Spanish police, in the Spanish radio systems, and in every department which could aid Hitler in his war against the Allies? Why did he say nothing about the work of German officers and Gestapo agents in the Spanish ports, where German submarines were launched in order to attack Allied convoys in the Atlantic and kill British and American sailors?

Perhaps he reserved the most exciting part of his story for the book he may be writing under the title, "The

Failure of a Mission"—the second in the series begun by Sir Nevile Henderson. In all justice, one volume should be saved for former Ambassador Hayes, the last chapter of which will eventually be written by Norman Armour, our new representative in Madrid, on the day he resigns. In that way the whole record of appeasement will have been transcribed by its protagonists, and later generations will learn to what depths of absurdity and hypocrisy Anglo-American diplomacy sank in its effort to save the social order so dear to Mr. Churchill, Lord Templewood, and Adolf Berle.

Everything that is now coming to light—and much more—has been told innumerable times by Spanish Republican leaders and in these columns. But the stories of Nazi penetration in Spain were dismissed as "pure leftist propaganda" by our State Department, and even some American liberals resented it when *The Nation* and a few other publications said exactly what is being said now by Lord Templewood. But if anyone has any doubt about Franco's position, let him follow the Spanish press and radio these days. Let him see with what joy they are commenting upon the German offensive in Belgium and France. There is only one policy for the Allies to follow: break off diplomatic relations with Franco at once. Therefore we appeal to all readers of *The Nation*, to every progressive in New York, to come to the mass-meeting for Republican Spain at Madison Square Garden on the evening of January 2.

# *Exit 78th Congress*

AMIDST the grim news from the war and diplomatic fronts of Europe, the passing of the Seventy-eighth Congress provided one of the few notes of cheer in the Christmas season of 1944. It is not easy or safe to pass blanket judgments on contemporary happenings. Historians of the future may dispute the current judgment that the Seventy-eighth Congress was the worst since the Constitution went into effect in 1789. But certainly no Congress has failed more signally to meet the responsibilities and opportunities that have been presented to it. If it has avoided disastrous steps, it has done so by limiting itself to inaction and senseless wrangling, and because the President has intervened on several occasions with adroit vetoes of particularly dangerous legislation.

When the late Congress first assembled in January, 1943, five primary tasks lay before it: (1) enactment of an adequate man-power policy so that America might meet the rising needs of war production without undue disturbance to essential civilian output; (2) formulation of a sound program for financing the war as much as possible on a pay-as-you-go basis so as to avoid inflation and disastrous post-war readjustments; (3) strengthening the feeble legislative basis for the country's price-control and stabilization mechanism; (4) widening and strengthening the country's social-security provisions along the lines requested by the President; and (5) laying the groundwork for a comprehensive, long-range program for the provision of full employment in America after the war. Readers of *The Nation* will recall that these issues were stressed in its editorial pages at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943.

Merely to recite the list is an indictment. For the Seventy-eighth Congress adjourned without having fulfilled any of these obligations. What man-power measures have been taken have been adopted without Congressional sanction. When the President specifically asked for a national-service act, the request was pointedly ignored. On the anti-inflation front the record of Congress is even worse. Repeated requests for a $16,000,000,000 tax bill ultimately led, after incredible delays, to the passage of a measure that at best was calculated to yield $2,000,000,000—and that meager gain was more than offset by two postponements in increasing the social-security tax. While failing to provide adequate finances, Congress repeatedly yielded to special interests and passed bills which, had they become law, would have wrecked the entire stabilization program. Although under pressure of Presidential vetoes it finally provided some funds for subsidies, these funds were inadequate to roll back food prices or to hold the line firmly enough to prevent demands for higher wages. Only the difficulties of obtaining agreement between the House and Senate prevented the enactment of a number of special-interest bills which would have completely destroyed the stabilization program.

Throughout its two years of almost continuous session, the Congress completely ignored the President's request for an extension and strengthening of our social-security system. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, embodying most of the Administration's ideas, was never even accorded the courtesy of a committee hearing. Congress's general irresponsibility toward the war and the peace was demonstrated particularly this past fall by its refusal to make provision for the orderly demobilization of war workers and federal employees, thus encouraging the exodus of workers from war plants when it looked as if the end of hostilities in Europe might be near. Having killed the National Resources Planning Board, which was the one agency equipped to undertake long-range post-war planning, Congress blithely ignored the problems of demobilization and reconversion except for passage of the reasonably good "G. I. Bill of Rights" and an extraordinarily feeble bill covering the disposal of surplus war materials.

In its final session, just ended, the Seventy-eighth Congress did nothing to mar its unenviable record of inaction. Apart from passing a deficiency bill restoring crop insurance, and embarrassing the Administration by freezing the social-security tax, it accomplished nothing. The St. Lawrence Waterway project was decisively rejected in the Senate, while the bill authorizing $500,000,000 in post-war river and harbor development was allowed to die in conference after having been passed by both houses. Other vital measures, such as the provision of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission and the anti-poll-tax bill, were not even brought up for a vote.

Fortunately, many of the leading obstructionists in the Seventy-eighth Congress will not be members of the Seventy-ninth. The list of absentees is not as long as it might be, but there can be no question that the removal of men like Reynolds, Clark, Nye, Gillette, and Davis from the Senate, and Dies, Starnes, Kleberg, Fish, and Day from the House will facilitate serious consideration of the problems which the last Congress refused to face. The Democratic majority

in the new House may be large enough to prevent reactionary Democrats and the Republicans from blocking Administration proposals without regard to their merit or urgency. The new Congress has a peculiarly difficult task. It must not only assume responsibility for the crucial domestic and international problems of the peace but discharge, as best it can, the responsibilities which the Seventy-eighth Congress refused to assume. We trust the lessons of the 1944 election will have been carefully studied and assimilated by its members before they assemble on January 3.

# *The Supreme Court and Racialism*

WE FIND the weak handling of racial issues by the United States Supreme Court deeply disturbing. The majority of opinions in the cases involving anti-Negro discrimination by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers are unworthy of the court. So basic an issue called for the clear affirmation of fundamental constitutional guaranties. The opinions, while upholding Negro rights, were turgid, legalistic, and evasive. The cases called into question contracts between the Brotherhood and certain Southern railroads depriving Negroes of jobs and giving those jobs to white men. The right of the Brotherhood to act as an exclusive collective-bargaining agent derives from a federal statute, the Railway Labor Act. And the Fifth Amendment gives the Supreme Court ample leeway to end a situation in which this exclusive bargaining agent at one and the same time excludes Negroes from membership and bargains away their rights. Something more was called for than the court's two meek little sentences on the Negro issue: "Here the discriminations based on race alone are obviously irrelevant and invidious. Congress plainly did not undertake to authorize the bargaining representative to make such discriminations." The round-robin-hood's-barn reasoning of the majority merely serves to widen the area of judicial interference in labor contracts without strongly and squarely outlawing racial discrimination in such contracts.

*The Nation* is glad that one member of the court, Justice Murphy, spoke out manfully against the queasy attitude of the majority. "To decide the case and to analyze the opinion solely upon the basis of legal niceties," he said in his concurring opinion, "while remaining mute and placid as to the obvious and oppressive deprivation of constitutional guarantees, is to make the judicial function something less than it should be." Justice Murphy declared that "no statutory interpretation can erase this ugly example of economic cruelty against colored citizens of the United States" and warned that racism is "far too virulent today to permit the slightest refusal, in the light of a constitution that abhors it, to expose and condemn it wherever it appears in the course of a statutory interpretation." We note that Justice Black concurred only in the result. We hope he shared Justice Murphy's feelings.

We find ourselves equally disturbed by the Korematsu case in which a badly split court handed down no less than five separate opinions, one by Justice Black for the majority, a concurring opinion by Justice Frankfurter, and separate dissents by Justice Roberts, Justice Murphy, and Justice Jackson. The case involved an American citizen of Japanese descent found guilty of violating a military exclusion order in California. The case had difficulties obvious enough to discourage dogmatic lay judgment, but certain points made in the individual opinions merit closer public attention.

Justice Roberts made the point that Korematsu was actually subject to arrest under two conflicting military orders, one requiring him to stay where he was, the other requiring him to leave, and termed this "a cleverly devised trap to accomplish the real purpose of the military authority, which was to lock him up in a concentration camp." Justice Roberts thought the court should have addressed itself to "the actualities of the case," instead of setting up "a figmentary and artificial situation." Justice Murphy did not see why Japanese, like German and Italian Americans, could not have been given separate loyalty hearings. He pointed out that while the military argued the need for speed, "nearly four months elapsed after Pearl Harbor before the first exclusion order was issued; nearly eight months went by until the last order was issued; and the last of these 'subversive' persons was not actually removed until almost eleven months had passed." Justice Murphy says "there was no adequate proof" that the F. B. I. and military intelligence did not have the situation well in hand and points to the excellent record made by Japanese Americans. "I dissent, therefore," he said, "from this legalization of racialism."

Justice Frankfurter, concurring, took a middle position. He felt the military had ample power in time of war to do what they did but did not feel impelled to approve what they did; "that is their business, not mine." This judicial abnegation at least has the virtue of meeting the basic point raised by Justice Jackson's dissent. "Much is said," he declared, "of the danger to liberty from the army program for deporting and detaining these citizens of Japanese extraction. But a judicial construction of the due-process clause that will sustain this order is a far more subtle blow to liberty than the promulgation of the order itself. A military order, however unconstitutional, is not apt to last longer than the military emergency . . . but once a judicial opinion rationalizes such an order to show that it conforms to the Constitution . . . the court for all time has validated the principle of racial discrimination in criminal procedure. . . . The principle then lies about like a loaded weapon ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forward a plausible claim of an urgent need."

In the light of that sound observation, we shudder when we read in Justice Black's opinion, "It should be noted to begin with, that all legal restrictions which curtail the civil rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect. *That is not to say that all such restrictions are unconstitutional.* It is to say that the courts must subject them to the most rigid scrutiny. *Pressing public necessity may sometimes justify the existence of such restrictions;* racial antagonism never can." The italics, and the forebodings, are ours. We do not feel that these forebodings are made groundless by the unanimous ruling of the court in the

Endo case, and its dictum that "loyalty is a matter of the heart and mind, not of race, creed, or color." We are glad that the court freed Endo, a Japanese American of unquestioned loyalty, from detention, but we share the doubts expressed in their separate concurring opinions by Justices Murphy and Roberts and suspect that here again the majority evaded the basic issue. We fear that these Japanese cases are the thin edge of the wedge by which racial discrimination makes its first unmistakable appearance in American constitutional law.

# *Hard or Durable Peace?*

ELSEWHERE in this issue, Oscar Lange takes exception to certain aspects of the "Plan for Germany" which *The Nation* outlined on October 7. Professor Lange is no extremist but an informed student of international affairs, a friend of the Soviet Union and an acknowledged liberal. We think his views deserve careful consideration. We do not feel, however, that they call for a modification of our position. Professor Lange is right in asserting that our first concern is a durable peace and the building of a stable international order; we believe that this is what most Americans are fighting for. A "hard peace," a "soft peace"—these are emotional and not definitive terms. They represent an attempt to transfer primitive punitive concepts from an individual to a collective application. Suppose we admit the collective guilt of the German people, does that mean that a "hard" retributive justice must be visited on all Germans alike—soldiers and civilians, men, women, children, and infants yet unborn, on rich and poor, on the Nazi functionary and the anti-Nazi prisoner whom he tortured? Such a retribution, while satisfying an understandable desire for vengeance, can hardly provide the basis of a lasting peace.

Let us by all means be hard where punishment can be closely related to the crime and the criminal. Let us seek out and punish with the utmost severity the Nazi criminals responsible for destroying democracy, for torturing thousands of their countrymen, for plunging the world into war, and for glorying in brutality the like of which the world has never before seen. And let the accusers and the judges be those who have felt most directly the scourge of Nazi ruthlessness.

But let us not abjure the very essence of democratic faith by indulging in racial myths such as Professor Lange suggests. In a sense fascism and Nazism represent a kind of "people's imperialism." (It should be noted that Professor Lange in his analysis names both Italy and Germany—two widely different nations. He might have gone on in his roll call of fascist-dominated lands.) For Nazism and fascism are phenomena of a revolutionary era, the toxic products of social disillusionment and economic decay. They are virulent in those countries where democracy is most immature and where primitive traditions of militarism are strongest. They have been most virulent in Germany, and therefore we admit that Germany deserves specially drastic treatment. But to lay the blame primarily on the German common people and minimize the role of the army, the feudal landowners, and the industrialists who financed the rise of Hitler as a bulwark against socialism is to distort history. And even with this powerful backing it is doubtful whether Nazism would have triumphed over popular opposition but for the refined terrorism of the police methods of a modern dictatorship. And beyond that, as every student of modern history knows, Hitler would not have got his way in Europe, would not, in fact, have been able to pitch Europe into war, had not the great democratic powers outside proved first complacent, then timid rabbits in their acceptance of his demands, revealing in the showdown that they dreaded communism more than they feared Nazism.

It is well to remember that fascism has roots and that it has flourished in many soils. Its eradication is only begun with military defeat and with those precautionary disarmament steps aimed to prevent new aggressions. Professor Lange's solution has a deceptive simplicity: Germany could be utterly destroyed and the roots of facism left undisturbed. In fact, if the proposed economic destruction of Germany should produce the chaos, mass unemployment, and industrial disruption which many envisage, we would not only have left the roots but tilled the soil for a new and more terrible fascist crop. And who then but our sons and daughters would be the victims of the "hard peace"?

What then is the alternative? We return to our original proposal. We believe that the last vestiges of the Nazi state should be destroyed, that all Nazi functionaries should be removed, and that there should be no temporizing with the pre-Nazi reactionaries who will doubtless come forward and offer their Darlan or Badoglio services in enforcing order. We believe that the power of the great German industrialists, cartelists, and landowners must finally be broken. We believe that Germany must be disarmed and kept disarmed by the combined action of the United Nations. This will not require dismemberment of Germany or the removal of its industries. The apparent security advantages of such measures would be offset by the necessity of long-term occupation and Allied policing, by economic dislocation, and by the "rise of frantic agitation on the part of nationalist groups interested solely in preparing the ground for a new war of 'liberation.'" Ultimately, Germany will be rendered "safe" only by the rise of its own democratic elements and by the rebuilding of a European community designed, not to perpetuate anachronistic monarchies or predatory economic tyrannies, but to serve the needs of the people themselves regardless of race or nation. And this European community will develop only if the United Nations remain united, pledged not merely to guard against new aggression but to cultivate a true democracy.

Alas, that the most recent revelations of Allied plans and practice give us little hope for democratic and economic renaissance after military victory. When it comes to settlement for Germany, we fear that it will be neither our plan nor Professor Lange's which will be adopted. For if our present policies hold, it will be anti-Nazi German workers who will be shot and "good" German reactionaries who will be installed by Allied arms. If this happens the peace will fail not because it is soft but because it is conceived and enforced by tories who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing since 1918.

# *The Counter-Offensive*

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE German counter-offensive, as this is written on Christmas night, has been brought to a halt. Supreme Headquarters announces that the front has been stabilized; and presumably it is being very careful about what it says these days. The ending of the first phase of this astonishing German effort is a Christmas present to the United Nations from Allied soldiers in Western Europe.

The second phase may bring renewed German attacks; indeed, front dispatches reported Monday that the fighting was still fluid at the open end of the two thin salients thrust into Belgium and across Luxembourg. On the other hand, and with better luck, the second phase may bring American counter-attacks, either driving the enemy frontally back to his old line or, better yet, cutting in at the base of the salients and lopping off a considerable enemy force. It is too early to predict—and nobody has stomach for predictions any more—but the thing may be at least temporarily settled by the time this article sees print.

Meanwhile, what ever happened? How did this shattered army of a defeated nation rise up and scare the daylights out of us? Reconstructing as well as we are able, at this distance and after the event, we see the following:

The German retreat from France last summer was not nearly so disorderly as it seemed. Although several hundred thousand men were left in France or brought home wounded, a considerable enemy force landed safely in the strongest prepared defensive position in the world. The pursuing Allied columns ran out of gas just as they ran into the Westwall and its covering approaches; during the pause in which the Allies brought up gas, men, and ammunition, the Germans carried out their third total mobilization of the home front, scraping together several extra divisions which were under strength, deficient in mobility, and composed largely of under-age, over-age, and 4-F men, but which were quite capable of holding prepared positions with the weapons put in their hands. At the same time the German field armies were regrouped, some existing divisions being brought up nearly to normal strength and others put into the line considerably under strength but still capable of fighting offensive action. Finally, the direction of the German army passed from the hands of Hitler into the hands of capable generals of the General Staff.

This reorganization for war was probably completed at about the time General Eisenhower started his winter offensive toward the Ruhr-Rhineland and the Saar Basin. The reorganization was enough to keep the pace of the offensive down to a walk, but it became apparent to the German high command that this war of attrition could end only one way —with the Allies wearing their way through into one or both of these areas, either of which is vital to the war economy of the Reich. To save the situation, pressure on these two areas had to be relieved; and the German army, not strong enough to withstand that eventual pressure, was still strong enough to relieve it indirectly by mounting a counter-offensive elsewhere and forcing General Eisenhower to divert troops from the vital areas in order to repulse the counter-blow. A secondary objective was the disruption of Allied supply lines and the destruction of Allied supply depots, so arduously built up through the fall: perhaps, if the Allies were caught as much off balance as the German generals had reason to believe they would be, Liège itself might be taken, deranging the supply lines as far north as the British Second Army; or a salient might be pushed out to the Meuse from Namur to Sedan, causing a general rectification of the Allied line.

So a concentration of about fifteen rested and first-class divisions was effected around the key points Honsfeld, Viangen, Echternach, under cover of darkness, with horses doing much of the moving and with the usual German thoroughness in camouflage. Evidently this concentration was spotted by aerial reconnaissance, reported back to headquarters, and misinterpreted as a defensive grouping. Therefore the attack was a complete surprise—on what must have been the weakest sector of the entire Allied line.

Before considering the course of the counter-offensive itself and of the measures taken against it, let us look at the reasons why surprise was possible. The tactical reason is given above—faulty intelligence or faulty interpretation of correct intelligence. The strategic reason would seem even more damning: apparently the Allies arrived in Luxembourg, looked at the hills, the forests, the bad roads, and decided that no advance was possible in that area. This is bad thinking in any situation, modern war being so capable of overcoming mere terrain; in this situation it is nearly incredible, for that is exactly what the French thought in 1940 when they looked at the same ground, and the Germans in 1940 came through exactly the same place, driving on through Sedan and winning the First Battle of France. The bad thinking, in fact is so incredible at this point that one looks deeper, for another reason why surprise was possible. The answer that suggests itself is psychological rather than military: our total underestimation of the strength, skill, tenacity, and resourcefulness of our enemies, not only the Germans but the Japanese. That underestimation starts, I believe, at the top level with the Allied war leaders and proceeds through General Eisenhower, SHAEF, the Pentagon Building, the press and radio, and the average American, ending at the bottom with your correspondent, who predicted in the September 2 issue of this magazine that organized German resistance would cease by November 15.

On the tactical, strategical, and psychological levels, therefore, we have committed the gravest sin in warfare. The only satisfactory or possible explanation of this state of affairs, it seems to me, is that we have made what may be called a historical error on a level more vital than any yet mentioned: we have, most of us, mistaken the essential

nature of this war. Despite the protestations to the contrary of those of us who have seen this war as something more than a nationalist-imperialist war of conquest and counter-resistance, our thinking has been warped by the history of past wars, in which nations quit when they were defeated. Now we are engaged in a war in which nations do not quit when they are defeated, in which there is no such thing as surrender, in which fascism must either conquer the world or be itself utterly conquered.

This analysis, I believe, does much to explain the serious miscalculations of our high command. In any purely nationalistic war there would have been no miscalculations, the Germans would not have regrouped so effectively, there would have been no counter-offensive, there would be no sudden canceling of reconversion orders, no frantic attempt to remobilize the nation for war by asking the racetracks to close three years after Pearl Harbor, no last-ditch efforts to compensate for the lack of an equitable national-service act by a series of stop-gap measures. Having failed in our understanding that this war is a world revolution, we find all these things necessary: and we may well find even more unpalatable things necessary—long casualty lists, for instance.

Certainly the reports filtering through last week's censorship suggest long casualty lists. The enemy must have had local superiority on the scale of about three to one in the break-through area, with five or six panzer divisions to spearhead the attack. It was the old, unhappy German story: tanks coming into a village with the American gunners unwarned at chow, paratroopers in the rear zone shooting up headquarters and wrecking communications, enemy troops disguised as American soldiers, driving American vehicles, even dressed as civilians; tanks superior to our own in firepower, armor-plating, and silence of movement; the Luftwaffe, carefully hoarded for the occasion, out in force to cover the advance; and then rain and fog, keeping our aircraft aground during the desperate days and hampering our movement of reinforcements to the front.

Saturday's break in the weather, valiant resistance by American units cut off or threatened with outflanking, and the quick shifting of troops and armor from neighboring sectors have contained the counter-offensive at least temporarily; it has not been able to break out to north or south against our forces on the flanks; thus its real threat has not yet been realized. The hope now is for a counter-blow at the base of the salient, which might cut off and destroy thousands of enemy troops. That might indeed shorten the war, by further depleting the ranks available to man the Westwall; but we shall not even be able to guess about that until we know more of how far the counter-offensive upsets General Eisenhower's own arrangements for further offensive action.

# *Toward Imperialism*

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, December 21*

ONE of the minor mysteries of the State Department fight is whether the insurgent New Dealers in the Senate called off their filibuster after the phone call from the White House or whether they telephoned the White House themselves. The general impression is that they themselves telephoned, and that it was Senator Murray of Montana who insisted that the call be made. On Tuesday morning, the day the fight ended, word spread that the President had sent a telegram to Secretary Stettinius to tell Senator Connally to pass word to the insurgents that he wanted the new nominees confirmed. Both Senator Guffey and Senator Pepper felt that this indirect appeal gave them grounds to assume that their battle, at least in the case of some of these appointees, might not be entirely unwelcome. It was understood that James Clement Dunn was the choice neither of the President nor of Stettinius but an appointment made at the request of Hull. Guffey and Pepper felt that the President might not have been altogether displeased if they had mustered sufficient strength to force elimination of at least Dunn and Holmes. To telephone the White House, however, was to leave the President with no alternative but to ask confirmation of all the nominees.

It will be interesting to see what effect the Senate fight has on the political future of Henry Wallace. Wallace was at the White House yesterday, but no one seems to have been able to learn what occurred in his talk with the President. It would mollify the progressives to have Wallace given an important Cabinet post, and it is hoped that he may still become Secretary of Commerce. The job is now held by Jesse Jones, but Jones is said to be on the way out. Jones has made a new and powerful enemy in Sam Rayburn, who has been telling the President that Jones was one of the principal backers of the anti-New Deal revolt in Texas. At one time there was talk of enlarging the importance of the Commerce post by giving it jurisdiction over the foreign economic relations now handled by the FEA, but Jones's close ally, Clayton, has moved into a position at the State Department where he will at least supervise these activities. I am inclined to think that if Wallace becomes head of the Commerce Department, its jurisdiction will be somewhat reduced, not enlarged.

The deeper meaning of the whole Wallace affair may be read in the current and as usual secret negotiations which have just ended in the signing of a new tin contract with Bolivia. The trend of Administration economic policy in foreign affairs is conservative, and to give Wallace any real hand in the formulation of this policy would merely be to lay the seeds for another intra-Administration struggle like that which occurred last year between Wallace and Jones. The key to that struggle lay in the labor clauses by which Wallace and Milo Perkins sought to give Latin American workers some share—in the form of better wages and working conditions—in the profits of the companies from Amer-

ican contracts for the purchase of raw materials. Those clauses faced in the direction of active intervention by the United States to raise the living standards and buying power of Latin America. Jones and Clayton opposed them, and Clayton explained to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he did so because he did not believe we should intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.

Last fall the Bolivian government asked for a 10 per cent increase in the 60-cent price of tin, to be used to carry out the recommendations of the Magruder commission we sent there after the Catavi massacre. The commission recommended better wages and improved health, sanitary, housing, and educational facilities in the mining areas. The Bolivians argued, as Wallace has in the past, that such measures would increase the productivity of the workers. The State Department and the FEA offered a 5-cent increase on condition that the Bolivian government impose no new taxes, charges, or other costs that would "interfere with production," and Bolivia has been forced to accept the increase on those terms. This condition leaves the way open for the mine-owners to reduce output if increases in taxes and wages are imposed upon them and then appeal to the American government on the ground that the Bolivian government has interfered with production. Thus the condition imposed by our government represents the very intervention to which Clayton piously declared himself opposed, but this intervention is in behalf of the tin kings, not of the tin miners.

Little attention has been paid to this matter here but much in Latin America. There it will seem that we are directing the course of our economic foreign policy to the restoration of the old colonial relationship under which Latin America was primarily a source of cheap raw materials rather than a market for manufactured goods. This is the spirit in which big New York banks like Chase National and world cotton traders like Clayton put money into Latin America between the two wars. This is the policy implied when it is proposed, as it is by Clayton and the New York banking community, to have world trade expansion combined with governmental laissez faire. The cast of characters is in keeping with the plot. Clayton becomes Assistant Secretary of State in charge of foreign economic affairs, and a member of the Rockefeller family, which dominates Chase National, becomes Assistant Secretary for Latin American affairs. Joseph T. Rovensky, a vice-president of the bank and Rockefeller's principal adviser on economic matters in Latin America, was long a director of the Patino tin enterprises in Bolivia and may have resumed that connection when he left his job as assistant to the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Machado in the 20's and the Catavi massacre in the 30's symbolize this approach to Latin America. Imperialism is the soapbox word for it, and it is a good word. And I might add that it will take enormous pressure from popular forces in Europe and Asia to prevent us from adopting the same attitude toward their economic problems. I do not think it fits the needs of a full-employment economy, and I do not think it will raise the prestige of capitalist democracy in Latin America or elsewhere.

I am fully aware of the necessity for a coalition with internationalists of the right to achieve the establishment of a new United Nations organization, but this new State Department goes so far to the right that it may defeat the President's purpose. The economic policies indicated by Wallace's defeat in his controversy with Jones last year, by the new appointments, and by the Bolivian tin negotiations cannot but increase the undertow toward some form of socialism or communism in Europe, Asia, and Latin America—however "correct" the Russians in abstaining from propaganda and however well-behaved the Communist parties of the West. The tides of revolution are not propelled by leaflets. Relations with the Soviet Union will inevitably worsen as the masses, notably in our own hemisphere, turn left. The President's political problem is thus a double one; it calls for social reform as well as for concession to the right if the peace is to be durable. The obvious base for such a dual policy in the business world is among the business men immediately interested in mass sales of consumption goods, not among financial and raw-material groups who think in terms of low wages and high rates of profit. It seems to me equally obvious that a dual policy of this kind can only be achieved if we have an informed and militant progressive opinion on foreign affairs. To perform our task we must be neither blindly angry with the President nor blindly subservient to him.

In this context, remembering always not to cut off our nose to spite our face, it is important to keep the public as fully informed as we can of the men and the actions of this "reorganized" State Department. From a progressive point of view, it is worse than it was before, and the new nominees merely intensify a drift that set in months ago with the removal of Sumner Welles. Laurence Duggan, one of the few liberals in the department, Welles's protégé and head of the Latin American Division, followed him. Herbert Feis, not too effective but at least an enlightened middle-of-the-roader, also resigned. Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, a corporation lawyer by trade but too liberal-minded for the department, is expected to leave in March, and there is talk of appointing Leon Fraser, former head of the Nazi-appeasing Bank of International Settlements, as an Assistant Secretary.

Yesterday, when Lord Templewood, formerly Sir Samuel Hoare, finally gagged on Franco and told the House of Commons the truth about Spain, Stettinius announced that H. Freeman Matthews, who was counselor at Madrid under Franco and at Vichy under Pétain and seemed to have no difficulty in swallowing both, was to be the new head of the Office of European Affairs. His friend and pro-Franco ally, James Clement Dunn, whom he succeeds, is to be Assistant Secretary not only for European but for Far Eastern, Near Eastern, and African affairs, quite a domain for Hull's gifted croquet partner. Leo Pasvolsky, sired by Brookings Institution out of Kerenskyism, is given new eminence as assistant to the Secretary in charge of international organization and security. The announcement that Michael J. McDermott is to remain as special assistant to the Secretary and department press officer, together with the wording of the new departmental reorganization order, indicates, as I suspected, that Archibald MacLeish will not handle relations with the press but will be hoisted into the innocent stratosphere of "cultural relations," while the old hush-hush policy continues.

# What Peace for Germany?

BY OSCAR LANGE

AS THE defeat of Germany draws nearer, pressure is developing in this country, and also in Great Britain, to spare the German people the consequences of defeat. The demand is heard in many different quarters. A "Save Germany" camp is clearly in formation. Roughly, this camp can be said to be composed of three groups. The first consists of those former isolationists whose opposition to aiding Great Britain and Russia was based on the idea that Nazi Germany was useful as a bulwark against "bolshevism." The anti-Soviet basis of the pro-German sympathies of these people is quite clear. Another group consists of pacifists and moralists who believe that justice and order in international relations can be maintained by the mere assertion of abstract principles, without the sanction of power or the use of organized force. The attitude of these two groups could be expected. But a third is made up of liberals and progressives who have shown in the past an excellent understanding of the realities of fascism and Nazi-German imperialism. These persons are driven into the "Save Germany" camp by their sincere concern for a durable peace and a just and stable international order. They advocate a "soft" peace as a means of effecting the democratic regeneration of the German people. Behind this attitude there is the lingering idea that the Nazi regime is merely the product of the "injustices" of Versailles. The German people are considered unwilling prisoners of the Nazi machine, not responsible for or participating in its crimes. With the removal of the Nazi dictatorship, they are expected to accept the values of a democratic way of life, provided a "hard" peace does not drive them again into the arms of an anti-democratic leadership.

The argument of the liberal wing of the "Save Germany" camp is based on a misconception of the real attitude of the German people and on a faulty analysis of the social and historical bases of Nazi imperialism. Unlike fascism in other countries, the Nazi regime and its aggressive foreign policy have received the support of the overwhelming majority of Germans. During the first two months that the Nazis were in power, when legal opposition parties were still in existence, these parties—the Social Democrats and the Catholic Center—used the tribune of the Reichstag to declare their support of the government's foreign policy. That, unlike the anti-fascists in Italy, Austria, and Spain, they let themselves be destroyed without putting up a fight, showed not only the weakness of their leadership but also the masses' acceptance of the Nazi "revolution." All the famed efficiency of the Gestapo could not destroy underground resistance movements in Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, the Low Countries, and Norway. Even in Austria there was secret unrest. But no significant opposition was ever found in Germany proper. The invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 brought an upsurge of Communist activity in all occupied countries. In France this upsurge revitalized the whole underground movement. Germany remained quite unaffected. Such resistance to the Nazi regime as has recently appeared in military circles is entirely due to the realization that Germany is losing the war. The opposition is not to Hitler's plan of world conquest but to his inability to implement his plan successfully.

### THE PEOPLE SHARE THE GUILT

Moreover, there is evidence that the Nazi idea of the "master race" ruling the world has won the positive approval of the German people, and particularly of those age groups which are now fighting the war and which during the next twenty years will be decisive for the future of Germany. In the first place, only a people giving full support to the government and its objectives could fight with such tenacity and self-sacrifice. A comparison of the fighting morale of the German and Italian armies makes this point clear. And secondly the unprecedented atrocities in the occupied countries—the mass murders, the cold-blooded extermination of the Jews—were not the work of "a handful of Nazi criminals." They required the direct cooperation of hundreds of thousands of men. Facts uncovered in the liberated areas of Eastern Europe, as well as reports of the underground in Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, show that the whole German administration participated, from provincial governors down to the lowliest civil servants. They all treated the people of the occupied countries as "subhumans," especially in Eastern Europe. The prevalence of this attitude receives further confirmation from German war prisoners, most of whom do not see any wrong in the atrocities committed in the conquered countries. The killing of Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians appears to them as natural as the extermination of rats or insects.

These crimes must have been known to the German people at home. And yet no voice was ever raised in protest. The churches did some grumbling about certain acts of the Nazis *in Germany.* They opposed the "mercy" murders of Germans and the sexual libertinism encouraged by the Nazis among the German youth. But they uttered no word of condemnation of the systematic extermination of the Jews or the mass murders of Poles and Ukrainians. One may plead in their defense that the ruthlessness of the Gestapo kept them silent. Gestapo threats, however, did not prevent the Catholic and Protestant churches in occupied France from protesting against Nazi inhumanities. Countless French priests risked their lives to save Jews from being sent to extermination camps in Poland. The conscience of Germany was silent.

Of course, after Germany is defeated, plenty of "anti-Nazism" will appear in Germany. But until the fundamental outlook of the German people changes, this anti-Nazism will not be a rejection of world conquest and domination by the "master race." It will represent, rather, a technical criticism of the Nazis' failure to attain the objectives of their policy and a search for a better method. Such "anti-Nazism" cannot serve as the foundation of a secure peace.

NAZI IMPERIALISM A "PEOPLE'S" IMPERIALISM

The peculiar attitude of the German people is explained by the specific social content of Nazi imperialism. Most of us think of imperialism as a policy of the ruling classes imposed upon the people through deception and propaganda. Imperialism, according to this view, is fostered by industrial and financial interests which use their governments to secure for them monopolistic control over markets and resources. Such, indeed, was the imperialism of the capitalist powers at the end of the nineteenth and in the first quarter of the twentieth century. If Nazi imperialism were of the same type, the German people might be expected to discover that they had been made to fight for their rulers against their own best interests.

Nazi imperialism, however, has different social roots. It is a policy pursued not for the benefit of a single class or a few classes—monopoly capital and the Junkers—but for the benefit of all strata of German society. Sociologically, we may describe it as a *people's imperialism*. It gives everyone a stake in imperialist expansion and conquest. And the rewards of conquest were actually distributed among all classes in Germany. German capitalists acquired capital assets in the conquered countries; military and civil officials got opportunities for advancement as a result of the extension of German administration. Business men were rewarded by expansion of their sheltered markets; managers obtained key positions in Europe's industries. German peasants, or their sons, were given land taken from its Polish or Ukrainian owners.

The German working class, too, shared in the fruits of Nazi imperialism. At first the expanding war economy provided it with employment. Later the importation of foreign slave labor brought about a general upgrading of German workers; theirs became the positions of skilled workers, foremen, and supervisors. If Germany had won the war, the German working class would have become the "master proletariat" of the world. Its relations to the workers of other countries would have been like those of white to colored laborers in South Africa. In the Kaiser's Germany imperialism was supported by the heavy industries and the Junkers. The working class, reared in Marxian traditions, opposed it in the name of democracy and the international cooperation of all working people. Now, however, the German working class has traded its earlier socialist ideology for the promise of becoming the "master proletariat." Of all the successes of the Nazis, this was the greatest.

This "people's imperialism" is a basic feature of fascism in general. It was prominent in Italian fascism, though Italy had no chance of becoming a world power and of carrying through its program successfully. Consequently, Italian fascism was unable to get the approval of the whole nation. Germany, however, had a real chance of becoming the master of the world.

Germany cannot become a useful member of the community of nations unless the idea of a people's imperialism is driven out of the minds of the German people. Our policy toward Germany must be designed to accomplish this purpose. It will not be served by a "soft" peace which saves the German people from the hard consequences of their imperialist ambitions. If the United States and Great Britain protect Germany from the wrath of the nations it has enslaved, starved, and murdered, the German people will believe that they can try the same thing again. They must be allowed to bear fully the vengeance and wrath of those nations they invaded; they must also be made to repair, to the utmost of their capacity, the damage they have done.

PUNISHMENT MUST PRECEDE REEDUCATION

The countries which suffered German occupation, particularly Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, and the western republics of the Soviet Union, have been ravaged to such an extent that even a defeated Germany may emerge from the war in a relatively improved economic position. It may turn out that Germany is the most prosperous country in Europe. This would be very dangerous because the German people would believe that the tenacity with which they supported the Nazi regime and carried on the war was worth while after all. The reparations exacted must therefore be sufficiently great to prevent the Germans from enjoying a higher standard of living than the peoples they have ruined. Moreover, international investment and development plans should give priority to the ravaged countries.

Nothing but the psychological shock of a very severe peace will induce the German people to give up their imperialist ideas and accept civilized standards of international cooperation. The problem may be compared to that of reforming a criminal who has consistently violated the standards of the society in which he lives. The first step is to convince him that crime does not pay. This has to be done by deeds which affect his well-being adversely, not by preaching. After that, it may be useful to call upon the chaplain or the Sunday-school teacher. Similarly, before we start to "reeducate" Germans, we must convince them that the fruits of aggression are bitter.

Even so, the reeducation of the German people in a new set of values will be very slow. A part of German youth will have to be considered "incurable" and deported from Germany. Many individuals, however, will escape detection. And until the new values of a democratic and peaceful way of life have been accepted by a sufficiently large majority of the German people, there will be danger that the "incurable" minority will take advantage of the political inexperience of the masses to win influence over them and start a new international adventure. Against such a possibility the world must be well guarded. Whatever the ultimate chances of "regenerating" Germany, it must be deprived of the means of starting a new war. We may hope to cure a lunatic. But if the process of recovery is a slow one, we must take precautions that he does no fresh harm.

Depriving Germany of the means of starting a new war implies the diminution of its strength as a nation. This will be effected partly through the territorial changes and consequent demographic readjustments demanded by Germany's neighbors. In addition, however, it is necessary to strike directly at the sources of the nation's military potential. Its internal economy must be revised under Allied supervision, and all industries which might serve war purposes must be removed. By means of an internationally financed investment program, it is possible to raise the industrial capacity, and hence the military potential, of the countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Such a development, together with the in-

dustrial and demographic growth of the Soviet Union and the restoration of the power of France, will reduce Germany's relative position to that of a third-rate European power. The peace of the world will then become less dependent on the success or failure of German reeducation.

No contradiction exists between the two objectives of "re-educating Germany" and of providing security during the interim period. The measures needed to make Germany harmless will in the long run further its reeducation. The price the German nation must pay is of course enormous. But only persons indifferent to moral values will pity the criminal who expiates his crimes. When Germany finally "reforms," it will find itself in an entirely different world. It will be a relatively small nation, with no chance of ever becoming a great power. But great powers have been reduced permanently to the status of minor nations before now. Spain and Sweden are instances. Germany will have to adjust itself to a new situation. Historical changes are irreversible.

# *I Don't Take Sides*

BY GEORGE H. GALLUP

I CAN think of nothing more beneficial than a full-dress Congressional investigation of all polls, with the press, the radio, and the people invited to attend. I have repeatedly urged this in the past for two reasons. In the first place, Congress and the country ought to become familiar with the technique of polls and their contribution to this government. Secondly, such an investigation should put an end to the misrepresentations and downright falsehoods which circulate about polls, particularly during election campaigns.

Nine years ago leading newspapers of the country helped to launch the polls of the American Institute of Public Opinion. It was recognized at that time that findings which dealt with highly controversial issues would be bitterly attacked. And they have been. Some criticism has been just and helpful. A lot has been unintelligent, even fantastic. Hitler and his stooges have consistently maintained that the Gallup Poll is a gigantic fraud, controlled and engineered by President Roosevelt to dupe the people. The Chicago *Tribune,* classing me as a rabid New Dealer, has implied that we were part of a nation-wide conspiracy working hand in glove with the White House. Huey Long's brother, Earl Long, stated flatly in the *American Progress:* "The Gallup Poll is a corporation tool pure and simple."

Now comes Mr. Ginzburg with his piece in the December 16 issue of *The Nation.* He doesn't charge that we are part of a national conspiracy, but he does claim he can see Republicans under our bed.

This is not a new charge. Since 1936 it has time and again been alleged that I have masterminded Presidential campaigns, in fact, masterminded the campaigns of two opposing candidates at the same time. May I say here that I have never read a speech by Roosevelt, Landon, Willkie, Dewey, Thomas, Teichert, Watson, or any other candidate in advance of delivery. Nor am I, incidentally, "a frequent house guest of Roosevelt" and responsible for supplying him with information to keep his popularity at a high point, as the Nazi-controlled Hamburg *Illustrierte* of Hamburg, Germany, stated not many months ago.

The latest of our critics is, I am sorry to say, guilty intentionally or unintentionally of some very careless reporting. It is regrettable, for instance, that he did not bother to check in advance his statement that I made an "off-the-record speech at the University Club in New York, about a week before the election," in which I am supposed to have said that Dewey had shown such gains as to assure his going over the top. If he had made a five-cent phone call to the University Club of New York, he would have found that I have not set foot inside the door of the place for more than a year. Furthermore, I never, anywhere, any time, made the statement Mr. Ginzburg alleges I made there.

In one part of his article Mr. Ginzburg said that the Gallup Poll made "during the closing weeks of the campaign" an adjustment for the "veracity" of the voters interviewed—an adjustment which in his opinion "appears fantastic." It *is* a fantasy. We made no such adjustment.

Both Republican and Democratic critics who charge us with political bias seem to start with the assumption that "if you're not for us, then you must be against us." They look everywhere for evidence of political bias but avoid the one place where the argument could be settled. *That is in the figures themselves.* In the 1944 campaign the Institute's final figures on the civilian vote showed a nation-wide error of between one and two percentage points. The average state-by-state error on the civilian vote was a little over two percentage points. This is one of the best jobs we have ever done, and in a year when dislocations of the voting population increased the difficulties of forecasting accurately election results in all forty-eight states.

Since 1935 the Institute has reported political sentiment in five national elections. In three of these it has overestimated the Republican vote. In two it has overestimated the Democratic vote. What is more, the average error on the Democratic side has been almost exactly the same as on the Republican side—four percentage points of error in favor of the Republicans, three and one-third points in favor of the Democrats. You can't make much of a case of political bias out of this record, unless perchance you regard us as chameleons who change political colors every two years. In this case at least one would have to admit that we distribute our political favors evenly.

Mr. Ginzburg and some other critics usually fail to mention 1942, because what happened that year destroys their case. In 1942 the Institute predicted that the Democrats would do better than they actually did at the polls. After

this overprediction of Democratic strength, the Republican storm that broke over our heads was a glory to behold. Colonel McCormick's paper referred darkly in an editorial to charges of "deliberate falsification" designed to gather the "'band-wagon' vote for the Democrats." This is the familiar formula.

When it comes to 1944, the chief bone of contention, or source of irritation, on the part of a small coterie is found in the question of turnout. If Mr. Ginzburg had been completely frank he would have admitted as much. The other points he brings up are mere side issues to this main one. To understand this issue you have only to go back to 1942. As already stated we overpredicted—by 3.8 percentage points—the aggregate national Democratic vote for Congressmen. Subsequent analysis indicated that virtually the entire gains scored by Republicans in Congress in that year could be accounted for by this one factor of turnout.

Although the Republicans hated to admit the validity of this point, New Dealers accepted it in its entirety. My friend and fellow Iowan, Henry Wallace, went to President Roosevelt with this explanation. The Democrats began to plan right then to do something about turnout in 1944. In fact, the P. A. C. centered its main effort on getting out the vote. A study by Professor Hadley Cantril of the Princeton University Office of Public Opinion Research confirmed our findings as to the importance of turnout, as did all the elections held between 1942 and 1944. From these studies emerged this one indisputable fact—that as turnout declines the Republicans tend to gain.

Evidence from the 1942 Congressionals, from state elections and special elections to fill vacant seats in Congress, showed that the Democrats tended to lose about one percentage point when turnout declined 8 to 10 per cent. In fact, only by making such an adjustment can the 1942 figures be brought to the right level. But having accepted in full the principle that turnout is important to their success at the polls, some Democrats now object very strongly to the fact that the same principle and the necessary adjustments to it were applied in the early days of the 1944 campaign at a time when all evidence pointed to a national civilian vote of 40,000,000 or less.

Such a turnout would require a downward adjustment of the Democratic vote by at least two percentage points, if the 1942 experience were to be heeded. And because the Institute has a perfectly natural desire to be as nearly right as possible in its election forecast, such an adjustment was made. After the New York City registration was complete in October, we published a revised estimate of turnout, with 45,000,000 indicated. Consequently the adjustment previously made for low voter participation was eliminated. This elimination would obviously have resulted in an automatic increase in the Democratic figure had there been no change of political sentiment in the electorate itself. Having made a successful effort to stir up interest in the campaign and get out the vote, some Democrats were obviously nettled because such a gain was offset by the increase in Republican strength shown in ballots received during October.

And now for future reference when controversies over polls arise again, I invite readers of *The Nation* to clip out and paste in their hats the following points-to-remember:

1. Every cent of our income is from a group of approximately 130 newspapers, which include a good representation of strongly Democratic Southern papers, as well as Republican and independent journals.

2. We do not work for any political candidate or party, and never have. We have not the slightest interest in who wins an election. All we want to do is be right.

3. We see no social value in predicting elections, but we regard elections as an ideal testing ground for new methods of opinion research.

4. We have urged a regular Congressional audit of polls. In addition to this we here and now suggest that the American Statistical Association appoint a committee to review at any or all times the methods and procedures we use.

# *Mr. Ginzburg Answers*

DR. GALLUP confines himself to general protestations and to technical denials. He denies making his off-the-record speech at the University Club. But apparently he made some sort of speech, and its purport can be surmised from the following press dispatch: "New York, November 2 (NANA). After listening to George Gallup, head of the Gallup Poll, give an off-the-record talk on the election, a group of New Yorkers who wish to remain anonymous proposed making up to a $50,000 pool to be placed on Governor Dewey at three to one." Dr. Gallup also denies having made a "veracity adjustment," but does not deny having made the adjustment I described under that name. The name he himself used in talking to the Anderson committee was "adjustment for past voting preferences."

His protestations fail to meet the principal issue—why his Roosevelt-Dewey percentages remained unchanged after he abandoned the downward Roosevelt adjustment for expected low voting turnout. Was the abandonment of this adjustment compensated by an increase in actual Dewey strength in the raw figures, by the discovery of new anti-Roosevelt adjustments, or by both? That is what we want to know, and that is what Dr. Gallup has failed to reveal in any precise form. He told the Washington *Post* that the compensation came from (1) "slightly higher" Dewey figures shown by secret ballot tests and (2) "evidences of a Dewey trend." He now says that it came from "the increase in Republican strength shown in ballots received during October."

If there was a rise in Dewey strength in the unadjusted polls completely offsetting the abandoned turnout adjustment, then Dr. Gallup is in the clear, and no one will quarrel with him for originally using that adjustment when the outlook seemed to him to dictate it. But if Dr. Gallup switched to new and arbitrary adjustments to replace the one he could no longer use, then he is not in the clear.

Dr. Gallup had a chance to give the full facts and figures to *Nation* readers. He still has a chance to give them to the Anderson committee. He now suggests a "review" by a committee of the Statistical Association, but he has that already, since the experts with the Anderson committee are leading members of the association. In words Dr. Gallup has always welcomed investigation; what has hitherto been lacking is the physical readiness to disclose the facts and figures.

# 50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IT IS TIME, we think, that the responsibility of the reader should be a little more insisted upon. He has a complete remedy in his own hands, if he did but know it. In other departments of artistic production he knows it and uses it without any hesitation. He does not get on his knees to theater managers and beg them to give wholesome and enjoyable performances, all the while tacitly conceding that he will go in any case. He does not beg painters to avoid producing meretricious or repulsive canvases, admitting that he will buy them just the same. If the play is bad, he does not show his face at it; if the paintings are lurid or hideous, he turns his back on them. But what does he do about the books which he does not approve of, or the newspapers which disgust him? Why, the simple soul buys them and reads them, and goes off to his club to lament the degeneracy of literature and the unscrupulousness of journalism. —*December 6, 1894.*

"LESSER QUESTIONS." By Lady Jeune. . . . The transformation which London society is undergoing is connected by Lady Jeune with the seclusion of the Queen. But the transforming influence, plutocratic rather than democratic, which brings with it a domination of tasteless luxury and display, is in the main not traceable to anybody's act or default; it is the dominant influence of the hour. Owing to various causes, mainly to the decay of their estates, the old aristocracy and gentry of England are passing away, and giving place to the lords of money, the smell of which, in whatever way it may have been made, is now sweet. —*December 6, 1894.*

MR. JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES desires, as his father's executor, contemplating a possible Life and Letters, that any letters useful for this purpose may be sent to Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.—*December 13, 1894.*

THE FIRST DIRECT EVIDENCE that some of the money collected by Tammany as the price of its government went to Croker in person was brought out by Mr. Goff on Thursday. The president of a towing company, who has contracts with the street-cleaning department to tow garbage out to sea, testified that for several years he sent checks to Richard Croker in June and October of each year, as contributions to the expenses of Tammany's Fourth of July celebration and Tammany's election expenses. The usual amount was $50, but it was increased in one instance to $75 and in another to $150. He said he sent them to protect him in his contracts.—*December 20, 1894.*

ADVICES FROM WASHINGTON indicate that it is the purpose of the supporters of the Nicaragua Canal bill to press it through both houses of Congress, if possible, at the present session. . . . The supporters of the project estimate the total cost of the canal at $87,799,570. It would require, however, either a large measure of credulity or a very strong bias to enable a man of average intelligence to believe that the work would ever be completed by or for the government for that sum.—*December 20, 1894.*

# Strange Homecoming

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

WITH the announcement by the army that it intends to lift the ban against the return of Japanese American evacuees to the West Coast on January 2, 1945, one chapter in the troubled history of this unfortunate minority has closed and another opens. The decision has been anticipated for over six months. For some time selected individual evacuees have been permitted to return to their former homes with the special permission of the Western Defense Command. By this means the Administration has been testing the reaction of people on the West Coast, and having satisfied itself that mob violence is not likely, it has finally decided to lift the one remaining restriction on the civil liberties of American citizens of Japanese descent. The announcement was made just twenty-four hours before the United States Supreme Court by a vote of six to three upheld the constitutionality of the evacuation program and in another decision ruled unanimously that Japanese Americans of unquestioned loyalty could not be detained in relocation centers.

On December 9 the Fukuda family returned to their home near Placentia, California. The father, a graduate of the Placentia public schools, is now again operating the fourteen-acre farm acquired by his parents more than thirty-four years ago. Contrary to the blood-and-thunder predictions of the Hearst press, the Fukuda family were warmly received by their neighbors in Orange County, neighbors who three years ago had been reluctant to see them leave. No sooner had they entered their home than friends whisked away the Fukuda daughters to practice the Christmas program of the Anaheim Lutheran Church.

When James Yamamoto, a forty-year-old farmer, returned to his berry farm near San José on November 20, a number of neighbors and former classmates were likewise on hand to extend their best wishes. The Hearst press, however, promptly sprang into action, reviving its familiar calumnies, rewriting feature stories of two decades ago, and predicting violence and bloodshed. The San José *Mercury-Herald,* on the other hand, in a front-page story defended the right of Yamamoto to return to his home and reported that sentiment in the district was favorable to him. And when Congressman Jack Z. Anderson complained that he had not been "contacted" by the army before permission had been granted Yamamoto to return, the San Francisco *Chronicle* tartly replied, "We are not aware that it is customary for the government, or the army, to 'contact' Congressmen when citizen property-owners in their district leave, or return. It would be odd to establish a rule that Congressmen are to be notified about the coming and going of residents in their districts."

These initial tests of West Coast opinion confirmed what informed observers have consistently maintained—that only a minority of West Coast residents are prejudiced against the evacuees and that the antagonism to them is largely synthetic. Rodney Brink, after completing a survey of West Coast opinion, reported recently in the *Christian Science Monitor* that opposition to the return of the evacuees was "fading." Even some of the diehard groups, such as the

California Grange, have begun to relax their traditional attitude against Orientals in response to mounting pressure from their members for fair play.

The policy of permitting individual evacuees to return has, to be sure, provoked some mild flurries. On November 10, in Bainbridge Island, Washington, an organization called the Remember Pearl Harbor League held a protest meeting, but it is interesting to note that the local newspaper, the Bainbridge *Review*, advocated fair play. Various groups in the state are circulating copies of a pamphlet by Lambert Schuyler entitled "The Japs Must Not Come Back!" in which the curious theory is advanced that the Founding Fathers never intended the constitutional guaranties to apply to citizens with "yellow skins." The Hood River Post of the American Legion recently removed the names of sixteen Japanese Americans from its honor roll of local citizens now serving with the armed forces, but the action promptly provoked a number of protests from Legion posts across the country. Threatening letters have been sent advocates of fair play in Oregon, Washington, and California; the Hearst and McClatchy newspapers continue to scream; such California Congressmen as Clair Engle, Jack Z. Anderson, and John Phillips, once a paid organizer for the Associated Farmers, have emitted the usual hisses; and in Los Angeles District Attorney Fred Houser waves the bloody shirt of intolerance; but except for these aberrations all has been quiet on the West Coast. Governor Earl Warren, once a strenuous "Jap" baiter and advocate of mass evacuation, has again demonstrated his political acuteness by suddenly blossoming forth as a stickler for law and order and a partisan of fair play. In view of the Governor's unfortunate speech at the Conference of Governors in Columbus, Ohio, a year ago, this new manifestation of concern for constitutional rights seems a spectacular quick-change performance.

There can be no doubt that during the last twelve months West Coast opinion has taken a decided turn in favor of the evacuees. Organized opposition to their return has in effect disintegrated. Accepting the army's decision as inevitable, the opposition forces have recently been cultivating a remarkable theory, of which more may be heard in the future. This theory was first advanced by Upton Close, who has become reaction's favorite hatchet man on the West Coast. Speaking at a luncheon in Los Angeles celebrating Bill of Rights week, by invitation of the California Newspaper Publishers' Association, Mr. Close suggested that the policy of returning Japanese Americans to their homes had been concocted by "Communist crackpot reformers" to "lure" the evacuees back to certain mass slaughter. As soon as a sufficient number of Japanese had been slaughtered, the aforesaid Communist crackpot reformers would raise the issue of "race prejudice" —which up to this time of course has not been a factor in the problem. The purpose of sending back the evacuees is, in Mr. Close's own words, "to destroy them, to make trouble, and to stimulate prejudice." In the creation of this particular fable Mr. Close has shown an inventiveness worthy of Hitler. If even one returning Japanese American meets with physical violence, the event will be blown up to mountainous proportions to reinforce the theory, and the editorial Big Berthas will be aimed, not at the instigators of mob violence, but at the "Communist crackpot reformers."

For their firm but tactful handling of this delicate question, and for their courageous determination to permit the evacuees to return to the West Coast, the War Department and the Department of the Interior are to be commended. Particular praise is due John McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, and Dillon Myer, head of the War Relocation Authority. It now seems reasonable to expect that most of the relocation centers can be closed in 1945. Of course not all the evacuees in the centers will elect to return to the coast, and it may be several years before all phases of the problem can be settled. But certainly the lifting of the ban indicates that the Administration wisely intends to liquidate the entire relocation program as rapidly as possible.

# *In the Wind*

THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, C. I. O., has applied to the Federal Communications Commission for permission to operate FM radio stations after the war in Detroit, Flint, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Newark, New Jersey. A statement of purpose filed by R. J. Thomas and George F. Addes, respectively president and secretary-treasurer of the union, said the U. A. W. will undertake FM broadcasts "to enhance the cause of our political, economic, and social democracy through affording to all groups and classes such freedom of speech and opportunities for discussion as to be unparalleled in the history of the radio broadcasting industry."

LITERARY CRITICISM: Elsa Maxwell writes in the New York *Post* of December 14, "Cole [Porter] is the Proust, Molière, and Verlaine of America."

F. F. McNAUGHTON, editor of the Pekin, Illinois, *Daily Times*, summed up the Greek situation in two brief columns. On December 12 he wrote, "Stalin came pretty close to taking over both Greece and Italy once before. Mussolini headed him off in Italy. John Metaxes (*sic*) headed him off in Greece. . . . It is too bad John Metaxes died." And on December 13 came the clincher: "Perhaps America is trying to force democracy onto nations that can't afford it. Democracy is a luxury. . . . Yet we insist that poverty-stricken lands like Italy, Greece, and Germany have democracy. . . . That would be silly."

CORRECTION: On December 2 this column stated that the 1943 survey of church membership by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was the first since 1926. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam informs us that a survey is published every year. It was also stated that the number of denominations had increased by 21.7 per cent. The Bishop points out that 97 per cent of all church members in the country belong to 52 denominations and that the remaining 202 denominations have only 3 per cent of church members.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# *"Purely an Italian Affair"*

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

ON DECEMBER 5 the new American Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius, announced that "the composition of the Italian government is purely an Italian affair," and that "we expect the Italians to work out their problems along democratic lines without influence from outside." If these words meant that President Roosevelt intended to grant the Italians the opportunity to work out their problems of government without outside influence, we should greet them with joy. Unfortunately, I am very much afraid that they meant something quite different.

On July 25 Premier Bonomi had announced officially, and accepted the fact, that Italy had become a British "sphere of influence." This could not have happened if Roosevelt and Stalin had not given the British government those unlimited powers in Italy which are implied in the term "sphere of influence." Because Albania had been recognized as an Italian sphere of influence, Mussolini was able to bestow its crown upon the King of Italy in 1939 without protest from London or Paris.

In his declaration of December 5 Secretary Stettinius said further that Italy was "an area of combined responsibility." A more comprehensive formula would have made clear that it was an area of combined *military,* not political, responsibility. There is only one brake on British initiative in Italy. The British government must "consult" the American government before taking any important step. Thus if the British government planned something in Italy which might arouse protest in the United States, the American government would be able to object in time and either obtain a change of plan or some procedure by which the chicken might be plucked without making it screech. Now that Roosevelt has become Lord Protector of the Pope, the American government, for that reason if for no other, must be consulted when an important question arises in Italy.

It seems that the British ambassador to Rome, when presented with the name of Carlo Sforza as possible Minister of Foreign Affairs, vetoed it immediately on his own initiative, and that his superiors in London, in approving of his decision, considered the matter of such small importance as not to merit consultation with the American government. The American government reacted by announcing on December 5 that it "had not in any way intimated to the Italian government that there would be any opposition on its part to Count Sforza." But it did not dispute the British right to veto such an appointment in a British sphere of influence.

As the New York *Times* explained on December 6, the Stettinius statement had no other purpose than to express the "resentment" of the American government "over the reported omission of the British government to consult or even inform us in advance on its stand against Count Sforza; it is held that as a member of the Allied Commission with Britain and Russia, this country was entitled to that courtesy and consideration." With equal lack of courtesy the American government, instead of communicating its protest privately, announced it publicly.

Greece too is an English sphere of influence. In the December 5 declaration we read that the American government's attitude of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries "would apply to an even more pronounced degree with regard to governments of the United Nations in their liberated territory." But American non-interference, far from preventing British interference, gave it unlimited scope.

According to the New York *Times* of December 8, Secretary Stettinius "again stressed our hands-off policy in respect to the internal politics of liberated countries" and "supported the position enunciated by Prime Minister Churchill to the effect that the Greek people had the right to decide what form of government they should have." The description of Churchill's position must have been meant as a joke. But that the American government follows a hands-off policy was said in deadly seriousness and is true—hands off for us, a free hand for Churchill. The New York *Herald Tribune* of December 8 also explained that "the American declaration of non-interference in internal Italian affairs was extended to strife-torn Greece." And again, on December 9: "On Tuesday, after the British government officially had opposed the projected appointment of Count Sforza as Italian Foreign Minister, the State Department announced a policy of non-intervention in Italy. On Thursday, following the outbreak of fighting between British troops and Greek partisans, it extended the policy to Greece."

As a result English soldiers are killing Greek citizens who want to have nothing to do with monarchy—a rather forceful way of supporting the theory of "legitimacy." The American government keeps out, but expresses the hope that the Greeks and the British will work together. Hope is the only sphere of influence which the United States has reserved for itself in Italy or Greece.

Returning to Italy, we note two facts which make the situation even clearer: (1) In some agreement which accompanied the two armistices of September 3 and 29, 1943, there is—we do not know in what form—a promise by Churchill and Roosevelt to uphold the royal house in Italy in exchange for the unconditional surrender of September 3 and for the rights given to the victors on September 29. (2) On October 14, 1943, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin jointly proclaimed the principle that "nothing can detract from the absolute and untrammeled right of the people of Italy *by constitutional means* to decide on the democratic form of government they will eventually have." In other words, this "absolute and untrammeled right" has to be

## Second Warning

*An August 12, 1944, I wrote in the Political War Section of* The Nation, *under the title Warning: "In the summer of 1940, when most people believed that the battle against Hitler was lost, we proclaimed our faith in the final defeat of the Nazis. In the summer of 1944, when most people consider the Nazis already beaten and expect the war in Europe to end momentarily—even Mr. Churchill's speeches breathe optimism—we warn our readers that the enemy still has strength to resist. This is not paradoxical. It simply means that this war is not only a military but a political war. Military results may be influenced by political acts, and the power of the German army may be temporarily increased by the purge of half-hearted anti-Nazi generals and the total Nazification of the internal as well as the military structure. The fight between democracy and fascism is literally a fight to the death. It is too early to assume that the force of Nazi fanaticism is wholly spent."*

*When I wrote these words, almost everyone was saying that the war would be over before Armistice Day, or at least before the end of the year. Unfortunately, the powerful German offensive which was launched ten days ago has fully justified my warning. People realize that now, but there is still a lot of wishful thinking and a lot of talk about "potential traps." My second warning is this: unless the entire strength of the Allies is thrown against the Nazis, and unless the Allies cease providing propaganda for the enemies of democracy—in Italy, in Greece, in Belgium, and elsewhere—we had better make up our minds that we shall still be at war on Christmas Day, 1945.*

A. DEL V.

exercised through constitutional means—that is, under the monarchical constitution, which means that it cannot be considered at all absolute or untrammeled. On the previous day Badoglio had issued a declaration to the effect that "at the end of the war the Italian people will be free to choose through elections the government they want." "Government" in Italian means "administration" or "cabinet," and not "form of government," such as a monarchy or a republic. But Badoglio's words were translated into English as if they affirmed the right of the people to choose their "form of government," and in their declaration of October 14 Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin pretended to believe that Badoglio meant "form of government," not "administration" or "cabinet," and accepted his promise. A diplomatic forgery! Thus the British government in upholding monarchy in Italy is not only acting in accordance with its rights in its sphere of influence but is remaining faithful to the declaration made by Badoglio, in Italian, on October 13 and to the proclamation issued by England, America, and Russia, in all languages, on October 14.

One who is aware of these circumstances must conclude that the Stettinius declaration of December 5, although it raised a great cloud of dust, served only to remind Churchill that the British government must not act in Italy without first consulting the American government. It left intact the basis of Anglo-American relations in Italy. Very wisely, the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 8 said that what we really need is only "a far better and more effective machinery for agreement than now exists," a "continuously functioning machinery of political agreement." Such is also Lord Halifax's opinion. On December 8 he said that "he did not believe there had been a serious misunderstanding over the political freedom to be granted in Italy and Greece," but that "in the future, there must be full consultation on all matters affecting America and Britain jointly. Thus the controversy may have the beneficial effect of strengthening and revitalizing Allied cooperation." And he gave the good tidings that "the United States and Great Britain have achieved substantial understanding on Italian and Greek political issues."

In Italy everybody understood what had happened. The Rome correspondent of the New York *Times* reported on December 9 that the crisis had "brought out the British determination to intervene, and led the United States State Department to make its memorable declaration of hands off internal politics of other countries." Hands off for America and freedom of intervention for Britain!

## Black International

Rupprecht von Wittelsbach calls on the Pope,
Otto von Hapsburg has cropped up,
Royalist circles see vistas of hope
When Europe's republics are mopped up.
Hapsburgs are Holy as well as Imperial,
Their annals are old as their story is serial.

Family thrones they are ready to fill,
As presidents fall with their ministries,
From Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Brazil
Flock claimants of dead and gone dynasties.
With Papal support (and a thumping minority)
Pretenders receive a high travel priority.

Wettins may sit upon Saxony's throne,
Zahringens flourish in Baden,
Württemberg-Brandenburgs get back their own,
When the tenant vacates Berchtesgaden.
The Third Reich is marked by exceptional brevity,
Hapsburgs rejoice in amazing longevity.

Monarchs may rise in the wake of the peace,
Wittelsbachs reign in Bavaria,
Sonderburg-Glücksburg find welcome in Greece,
Saxe-Coburgs inherit Bulgaria.
The Vatican offers a new opportunity
For public devotion and Catholic unity.

Ex-Bourbon-Hapsburgs in Spain may be found,
To match Lisbon's Hapsburg-Braganza,
Hapsburg-Leczinskis in Poland be crowned,
For that's what the Vatican plans are.
Catholic courts of antique consanguinity,
Rulers restoring the right of divinity.

Hapsburgs and Bourbons safe back in the fold,
Not to mention the reigning Sardinians,
Wettins and Wittelsbachs throned as of old,
In sovereign ducal dominions.
Princes and potentates east of the Rhine again!
Ex-Hohenzollerns are getting in line again!
Dukes of Saxe-Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Meiningen!
Royalist circles begin to feel fine again.

SAGITTARIUS

(The *New Statesman and Nation*, London)

# *Behind the Enemy Line*

BY ARGUS

GERMANS enter into the mood of Christmas and New Years at the beginning of December. This year, for tens of thousands of persons in Berlin and in the country, the month of sentiment opened with the receipt of a letter containing a piece of paper on which this laconic message was printed: "Peace *on* earth and not peace *under* the earth!" (*Aftontidningen*, Stockholm, December 12). Shortly afterward, in Berlin and other cities, people found pasted on the walls of buildings one morning posters which said, "On December 11, 1941, Adolf Hitler declared war on the United States. In consequence we have lost Africa, Italy, Russia, Finland, the Baltic states, and the Balkans. Today the Americans stand on the Rhine, the Roer, and the Saar. Germany, awake!"

Of course we do not know the source of such campaigns. It is possible that they do not originate in Germany but in the Russian or Anglo-American propaganda agencies. In carrying them out, however, a certain number of Germans must have cooperated. And although only very sparse traces of any active opposition can be observed in Germany, news of this kind is leaking out more frequently.

The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of December 12 mentioned the discovery of an organization calling itself the Stalingradbund, and declared that the Hamburg police had posted yellow placards promising a 10,000-mark reward for information leading to the arrest of the leaders. The newspaper did not say what the Stalingradbund was or did, but the name indicates that it is a Communist organization. The Stockholm *Aftonbladet* reported, however, that its chief activity was circulating defeatist propaganda. A considerable quantity of illegal reading matter printed in some unknown place was found in the cellar of a gutted house in the Gänsemarkt, in the center of the city. "It consisted mostly of excerpts from Hitler's earlier speeches, as for instance the famous statement, 'Stalingrad will be taken; you can rely on that.' "

Ominous thefts of weapons have been occurring of late. An item in the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* runs, "Pistols have frequently been stolen from the holsters of members of the armed forces. These thefts took place in crowded street cars or at the Erfurt railroad station. They seem to follow a certain pattern, and it is obvious that under present conditions they imperil public safety. Suspicious-appearing persons should be turned over to the nearest policeman. Informants are promised rewards of up to 300 marks and that their testimony will be considered confidential."

To be noted, further, is the increasing number of disappearances among both soldiers and civilians. Many miners from the Aachen district, Lorraine, and the Saar basin have apparently fled to towns in the interior, but instead of registering at the local employment bureaus, they seem to have lived in hiding for months. The police chief of Ludwigshaven on the Middle Rhine published this notice on November 24: "All miners who have entered Ludwigshaven since September must report immediately to the Labor Office, where their present employment will be investigated. Failure to report and false statements will be severely punished."

A corresponding phenomenon in Berlin is described in the Stockholm paper *Nordens Fribet* of December 12. A Swede just back from Germany reports that about 65 per cent of the houses in Berlin have been destroyed and that about two million of the city's former four and a half million inhabitants have been evacuated. He then says: "Still in the city are tens of thousands of deserters, stragglers, and political refugees who have 'gone underground.' They live in ruins and cellars. How do they get money and, above all, ration cards? Often by robbing and raiding. In the daytime discipline still seems to prevail in Berlin, but at night only persons who are armed feel safe."

To return to Christmas, this year the "German festival," as Germans call it, will be celebrated in circumstances without a precedent for centuries. The sale of Christmas trees has been forbidden in order to save labor and transportation. The extra rations distributed in each of the other war years, which made possible a few regular meals and some Christmas cakes, have not been repeated this year. Few houses will be heated, for the coal ration has been fixed at 25 per cent of last year's, which was bad enough—and even this amount is in general only theoretically available since in most places the necessary coal shipments fail to arrive. "While last year," the Swiss *Appenzeller Zeitung* tells us, "the authorities asked people to give practical gifts, the admonition is now superfluous because hardly anything can be bought; even a toothbrush is a gift to be treasured. With wine sold only by the glass, and to heavy workers, and with liquor distributed only occasionally after air raids, there is almost nothing to create a festive spirit." In fact, the great majority of city dwellers, instead of sitting down to a feast during the holidays, will go as usual to the "communal kitchens" and eat the hated soup.

The lot of the children is an especially sad chapter. Most city children have been evacuated and live in some sort of camp. It was announced originally that they might all go to their parents at Christmas or their parents might come to them. But in the end these journeys were forbidden on account of the transport crisis. Last year the older children in the camps made simple toys for the younger ones. This year that must be omitted because the older children are all doing work farmed out by the arms industries. Christmas in camps will be marked by two events (*Dagens Nyheter*, December 14): each child will receive "a savings-bank book in which a few marks have been entered"—and an autographed picture of Hitler will be hung in each dormitory.

# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

By MARGARET MARSHALL

THE OLD MASTERS have been back at the Metropolitan Museum for some time now, but I have put off paying a call for all sorts of unimportant reasons, including the sound of the word museum. When I did go it was only incidental to a walk in Central Park, which in turn was merely part of a program to get the best of Sunday. So lightly do we take our treasures. There were, as usual, too many people, and of course there are too many pictures. But as usual, also, there was one for which all the others seemed, on this particuar day, to be only prelude and setting. It was Tintoretto's "A Doge in Prayer Before the Redeemer," which seems, as Henry James said of a canvas by Bellini, to have been painted with molten gems. Look at it for a time and museum walls and visitors' chatter alike fall away; the scene itself floats in a higher air—somewhere between heaven and Venice.

When you have "seen" a picture in this way, you'd better not look at any others. If you leave quickly you can take it with you—and no other painting will seem quite good enough anyway, for you will have shot your bolt of response.

CONTEMPORARY ART has recently come into my life in the form of two canvases by Baziotes which friends were kind enough to lend me. It has been quite an experience. I brought them home in a cab, and of course the driver, having the tradition of New York taxi drivers to live up to, had to stick in his oar. He was on his way "back to the garage"—all taxi drivers these days are just on the point of going back where they come from and your destination is invariably out of their way—but he insisted on looking at the pictures and lingered long enough to tell me I shouldn't waste my money on such stuff.

It is, to say the least, very lively "stuff." Certainly it is not for those who think that art, so to speak, should be seen and not heard. I've been getting a rather mischievous and irresponsible pleasure out of the reactions they provoke —I can be sure of a vigorous reaction for or against.

One friend, who reacted against, was with me before Tintoretto. And she made it clear that she didn't see how anyone who was transported by Tintoretto could also like the pictures in my living-room. While a museum attendant eyed us suspiciously and hoped we'd break a rule, we agreed that the art of painting, after Tintoretto and all the others had finished with it, had, like a font of type, either to be laid away or broken up and melted down for a fresh beginning. Fresh beginnings are precarious, disturbing, sometimes false. They are also inevitable. And the plaintive question—which my friend, being intelligent, did *not* ask—"Why can't modern artists and poets write or paint like those of the past?" is foolish when it isn't vicious. Hate modern art and poetry if you like. But don't assume that your hatred of it is a sign that you are more sane, more honest, and more perceptive than the people who like it.

I didn't mean to return to this question—but what with the League for Sanity in Poetry getting more and more aggressive and the obscurity of modern poetry being raised in a Senate hearing on the fitness of a candidate for office, the question is by way of becoming a public issue.

I have had two long letters from members of the league. One of them is based on a misunderstanding of a very unobscure paragraph I wrote a few weeks ago—a misunderstanding so complete that it gave me added insight into the (anti) intellectual bias of this group. I said, for instance, that people who cry for a return to the past could as easily be taken in by a clever imitation of Wordsworth as *Angry Penguins* was taken in by the fake Ern Malley—which brought forth the ringing statement that "we do not necessarily hark back to Wordsworth though we do believe that the great tradition represented by Wordsworth . . . deserves something more than a spattering of mud from the critics of today"!

On second thought perhaps it *is* worth while making myself clear, in four easy lessons:

1. Wordsworth was a first-rate poet.

2. The world we live in is different from the world Wordsworth lived in, though there seem to be even more Philistines throwing their weight around, since more of them are able, as the saying goes, to read.

3. If Wordsworth were alive today he would probably, being a first-rate creative mind, be writing in the same "obscure" way as T. S. Eliot, Marianne Moore, and E. E. Cummings.

4. Any attempt to "write like" Wordsworth today would be just as phony as the "poems" of Ern Malley.

The second letter is an attempt at appeasement. This representative of the league is sure that without realizing it I hold the same view as the league. Obviously I don't, if only because I greatly admire the two poets for whom the league reserves its sharpest—and bluntest—knives, namely, E. E. Cummings and Marianne Moore. I shall not mention the league again.

LOUIS FERDINAND CELINE is now in Spain, waiting out the war. He applied for German naturalization—and was turned down.

A VERY CYNICAL NOTE is appearing in some of the current advertisements for whiskey. One shows a hall table loaded with hats, and the caption informs us that "it happens every time" he serves such and such a brand of whiskey. Another shows a gentleman outside the door conspicuously displaying a bottle of such and such a brand and asking with all the confidence of a gangster, "May we come in?" This is getting down to realities with a vengeance. Bringing one's own liquor became an accepted custom in the days of prohibition—and no questions asked about the brand. High prices have revived the custom. But hospitality will have come to a pretty pass if the butler is going to decide whether a guest is to be admitted or not on the basis of the quality

of whiskey he has been able to pay for. This sort of thing can lead to serious abuses if not the disruption of social life. Your honest guest may have mortgaged his future to buy a good unassuming rye. The gentleman who got in by producing Napoleon brandy may be a ruthless social climber or a second-story man who had no scruples about breaking the law, set forth in such threatening terms on whiskey bottles and feather pillows, which forbids refills.

## Bellamy's Utopia

*EDWARD BELLAMY.* By Arthur E. Morgan. Columbia University Press. $5.

IN THAT exciting time in our history—roughly from 1880 to 1898—which we have come to call the "Great Upheaval," two men, a continent apart, published two books which to this day color much of our economic and social thinking. In San Francisco Henry George wrote his "Progress and Poverty." In Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, Edward Bellamy wrote his "Looking Backward." Both men were free-lance journalists, well outside the walls of academic economics, but between them they have set more people thinking about the fundamentals of the "dreary science" than a standing army of professional economists.

They were writing when the frontier was closing, when large-scale organizations of industry and labor were in violent collision, when all the grass roots were stirring with revolt. Plain people everywhere, looking for a way out of the mess that was the status quo, went to these books with avidity, and a short time after publication both books became sensational best-sellers with steady sales which continue today.

The George thesis of land values has long since been accepted, though there is doubt in most people's minds that this is the single source of our complex economic ills. Interest in the more comprehensive "Nationalist" scheme of Bellamy's is renewed by the publication of Arthur E. Morgan's full-scale biography of its author.

Unlike George's, Bellamy's life was so free of incident that Mr. Morgan, former president of Antioch College, chairman of the TVA from 1933 to 1938, now president of Community Service, Inc., can sum it up in two chapters and devote the rest of his 420-page work to discussion of Bellamy's ideas, writing habits, the Nationalist movement, and so on. This makes mighty heavy going at times, as Mr. Morgan has apparently dug up every last book review or magazine article that Bellamy ever wrote, together with a mass of unpublished writings, and disregarding his protagonist's advice to cut everything to the bone, proceeds to discourse at windy length on any thoughts, however commonplace, which Bellamy ever expressed. At all events, no other biography of Bellamy need ever be written. If anything is omitted from this heavily documented book, Mr. Morgan assures us it will be found in his "The Philosophy of Edward Bellamy" (King's Crown Press).

Living the greater part of his short life—he was born in 1850 and died in 1898—in a dull New England mill town, the son of a cheerful Baptist parson and a tryingly pious mother, Bellamy was one of those lone-wolf, small-town rebels who hammer out their own philosophy without benefit of participation in the main streams of American activities. To be sure, after the publication of "Looking Backward" in 1888 he spoke at meetings of the many Nationalist clubs which were organized on the pattern of his utopian vision. For a short while as a youth he worked on the New York *Evening Post,* and there was an uneventful trip to Germany and another to Hawaii for his fragile health's sake, but for the most part his Chicopee study bound him.

America's outstanding Utopia has its characters looking back from the year 2000 with amazement at the way we are fumbling the chances for a good collective life which our unparalleled productive facilities give us. In Bellamy's happy future all hands are employed, and peace, plenty, and freedom are the order of the day. As Bellamy himself summarized it,

> The labor question so-called and all problems growing out of the division of labor and its results have been solved by the union of the entire nation in a general business partnership, in which every man and woman is an equal partner. The conduct of the industries, commerce, and general business of the country is committed by the national firm to a so-called army of industry, which includes all the able-bodied citizens, men and women, between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five, the intellectual and professional services being rendered by associated corps. All persons choose their occupations in the army of industry according to natural tastes and gifts, provided, of course, when there are too many volunteers for the needs for a particular branch that the fittest are taken. In order to equalize the attractiveness of different occupations, the hours of work in those which are more laborious or otherwise unattractive are shortened as compared with the easier and more attractive trades. . . . As all the members of a nation of today, whether able to fight or not, share equally in the protection of the army and the prosperity it insures, so in the nation of the year 2000, all alike, whether men or women, strong or weak, able-bodied or defective, share in the wealth produced by the industrial army, and the share of all is equal. This share, varying only with the general prosperity of the national business, is the sole income and means of maintenance of all, whether during active industrial service or after discharge from it.

Here, of course, was socialism without Marx, the class struggle, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the Christian Socialists recognized, who together with the Theosophists, the Populists, and all sorts and conditions of unattached liberals swarmed into the Nationalist clubs from coast to coast. It was an indigenous, homespun, made-in-Chicopee Falls socialism, and it caught the imagination of millions unwilling to struggle with the intricacies of the Marxist dogma.

Chockful of jokers though it is (Who shall decide on the "fittest"? What about the dangers of regimentation? What about malingerers? And today we might ask, What about totalitarianism?) "Looking Backward" is still worth rereading. The core of it, the full social use of our resources and productive powers is still sound in this second "great upheaval." For all its oversimplification it remains one of the most provocative books of our times. Until we find some adequate answers to the central questions which it poses, it is not for us of a confused and bewildered generation to call the book "dated." MCALISTER COLEMAN

# BRIEFER COMMENT

## Ten Latin Authors

IT IS ONE of the misfortunes of the reasonably curious that so many of the books which should satisfy their desires are so dull. The unreasonably curious will plow through anything, even such a volume as "Contemporary Spanish American Fiction" by Jefferson Rea Spell (Chapel Hill, $3). But the mildly interested will hardly get beyond the first few pages. And that is a pity, for Professor Spell has labored long, and perhaps lovingly, to enable those who do not read Spanish to know something about modern Spanish American literature. His book is not too profound for the average audience. He has apparently read everything that his chosen ten moderns have written. The book has a bibliography which lists not only titles but also translations. It is an exceedingly useful job.

But it is very doubtful that this book will make a single convert to the cause of reading Spanish American fiction either for its own sake or as a way toward understanding Latin countries. In the first place, it takes the skill of a Charles Lamb to chew up another man's plots and regurgitate them in attractive form, and heaven did not so dower Professor Spell. In the second place, he has a way of turning over a man's work with one academic toe that damns it even when he seems eager to praise it.

Guiraldes of Argentina is famous, he says, but he can neither develop character nor weave a plot. Icaza of Ecuador is a reformer interested neither in people as individuals nor in form. Gallegos of Venezuela is little more than a stylist. Quiroga's work is slight. And so he goes with the ten authors on whom he has lavished years of study and the money from at least one university grant. One sometimes wonders why he bothered.

However correct Professor Spell's judgments may be—and this reviewer would quarrel with several of them—his book suffers from that curious ambivalence which afflicts so many of our countrymen who work with Latin American material. He loves the fiction he describes, and at the same time he disapproves of it. Its richness, its color, its lavish unrolling of scenes and incidents that are not ours attract him. Its formlessness, its emphasis on uncorseted emotion, its disregard of the standards of life and literature to which he clings—all this repels him. The net result is not happy.

MILDRED ADAMS

## The Case for Naturalism

A SYMPOSIUM by fifteen American philosophers on "Naturalism and the Human Spirit," edited by Yervant H. Krikorian (Columbia University Press, $4.50), seems to have been conceived as a counter-weapon to buzz-bomb attacks relying for their explosive effect on charges of Aristotelian metaphysics mixed with Catholic theology. Naturalists have been accused by their opponents of peddling a disguised materialism which "reduces" man to the level of the lower animals, ignores the "higher values," and makes impossible a democratic philosophy founded on the inherent dignity and nobility of man. The more polemical sections of this volume, such as the essays by John Dewey and Sidney Hook in greater and others in smaller part, are concerned with replying to these charges. Naturalism is held to be simply the doctrine that nature is a self-contained system, for the knowledge of which scientific or empirical method has proved itself to be more reliable than intuition, revelation, or purely a priori reasoning. Even though human values and purposes have arisen out of conditions in which these were lacking or present in lesser degree, these writers repudiate the "genetic fallacy" of identifying the outcome with its antecedent. Man's nature consists of all that he is and can become.

The volume constitutes an effective retort in general terms to misrepresentations of naturalism, and also contains some careful analyses of special problems, notably the essays of Eliseo Vivas on aesthetics, Ernest Nagel on logic, E. W. Strong on historiography, and W. R. Dennes on metaphysics. It is weakest at those points where contemporary naturalism as a whole is least developed, including, unfortunately enough, the discussions of ethics and general theory of value, the salients upon which attacks by the opposition have been centered. Among the sources of these weaknesses are the influence of Dewey's peculiar version of behaviorism, an indiscriminate distaste for dualisms amounting to a phobia of the number "2," a frequent inability to discriminate science from pseudo-science, an as yet incomplete assimilation of the "humanities" and of religious symbolism to the naturalistic and empirical scheme, and a disproportionate emphasis on methodology at the expense of philosophical vision. To remedy these defects will in the long run be the most potent defense against intellectual reaction.

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December 18, 1944

Johannes Steel on WHN
Beginning Jan. 1

To: All Local Union Secretaries,
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Greetings:

Announcement has just been made that Johannes Steel, well-known news analyst and commentator, will transfer his nightly radio spot from WMCA to Station WHN beginning Monday, January 1.

Mr. Steel is one of the foremost radio commentators known best to CIO members for his liberal views and personal support of labor's program. He is a member of the Newspaper Guild and an officer of the American Labor Party. He was among the most active in ALP's and PAC's speakers bureaus during the recent presidential election.

We are certain that Mr. Steel's large following among the CIO membership in New York will want to be apprised of his switch to WHN.

WHN is the most powerful independent radio station in the city, listed at 1050 KC. Mr. Steel will be on five nights a week, Monday to Friday. (It will be 7:30 or 7:45 P.M.—look for definite hour in newspapers.)

Independent, fearless, truthful men like Steel deserve the continued support of all working people, especially CIO members.

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## Average Member

ALTHOUGH ROSE PESOTTA has been an organizer and vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, she writes, in "Bread Upon the Waters" (Dodd, Mead, $3), from the point of view of the ordinary union member. Believing that continual office-holding in the union tended to remove a worker from the problems of the shop, the author recently refused to continue as a union officer and returned to the factory bench. Her book is largely a record of the feelings, conduct, and heroism of the average member, and it is one of the most enlightening volumes on labor published in recent years. She not only deals with the problems of organizing and maintaining unions of Chinese, Mexican, and Puerto Rican garment workers, she also discusses the early organization drives of the rubber and automobile workers in which she participated.

Miss Pesotta's book is full of little incidents which reveal more than pages of heavy analysis. She has a good eye, and she tells her story with interest and humor. The bitterness usually found in the pages of convinced or disillusioned Marxists is absent, and the most severe epithet hurled against an opponent is "henpecked." Not that she hides her feelings toward police who assault pickets, hostile employers, or Communist disrupters, but she avoids bitter name-calling and denunciation.

She describes the difficulties of building a union, winning a first contract, and maintaining the organization in the face of the lethargy and suspicion of new members and the jealousy and incompetence of officers. Snatches of history dealing with other times and problems are scattered through the book and help to put current developments in proper perspective. While the author respects the leaders, she is skeptical of attempts to paint the heads of her union as statesmen and great tacticians. Some of their success she attributes to ability, but much of it, she believes, is due to a favorable social climate. It is the rank-and-file member, the duespayer and picket, who is the hero of her story. "Bread Upon the Waters" is an important contribution to our understanding of labor. It is full of hope and dignity, and is a credit to the author and to the labor movement.

PHILIP TAFT

## New Zealand's Way

"UNDERSTANDING NEW ZEALAND," by Frederick L. W. Wood (Coward-McCann, $3.50), is the best general book on the most remote and isolated of the British dominions since J. B. Condliffe's "New Zealand in the Making" (1930). This is saying a great deal, for New Zealand has been well documented of recent years. Professor Wood's achievement is to describe the country, its history, its people, its institutions, its experiments in social legislation, in such a manner that they all seem to fit together in the pattern of a nation. The significance of this will be more apparent to a New Zealander than to a foreign observer, for of recent years citizens "down under" have become increasingly aware of a separate nationhood and conscious that they are different, but without knowing how or why. Professor Wood provides a good set of answers—even though

# BEHIND THE CRISIS IN CHINA—by Lin Yutang

Lin Yutang has accomplished what no American, and no Chinese of lesser stature, could have done. He has visited China, probed deeply into the bloody civil war between the Communists and Chungking, and returned with the first authoritative, dispassionate report to reach the American people. In it he reveals the full tragedy of the conflict . . . discloses facts, rigorously censored until now, that help explain China's present critical position. For the story behind today's China headlines read "The Civil War in China" by Lin Yutang in THE AMERICAN MERCURY for January.

# WHY ENGLAND IS WOOING RUSSIA

In the Balkans . . . in Poland . . . in Iran, the British lion purrs softly to the Soviet bear as England lays plans to safeguard her empire. Why does England worry more about Russia's friendship than America's . . . how much will she concede to strengthen her Russian alliance . . . where will she draw the line? Let Andre Visson, veteran authority on foreign affairs, answer these questions and unravel for you many a puzzling diplomatic move. Read "Why England is Wooing Russia."

# THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for January—OUT NOW

It is no easy task to select the "headliners" among the intriguing articles in the January MERCURY. *De Valera's Ireland* is a memorable portrait of a troubled land ruled by a puritanical idealist using totalitarian methods. *Poison From Europe* is Francis Rufus Bellamy's terse label for Fritz Mandl, sinister armament figure from Austria, now in Argentina — a menace to the peace of all South America. Philip Wylie's *Memorandum on Anti-Semitism* is a Christian's stirring analysis of Jew-hatred — the sickness that breeds it, the food it feeds on, the disaster it leads to. *The Astrology Racket* takes you behind the scenes of an industry that pulls $200,000,000 a year out of the stars and the public's purse. *This Was Ziegfeld* is a delightful profile from the witty pen of Bernard Sobel . . . Discover for yourself half a dozen other thought-provoking articles in the January MERCURY — plus George Jean Nathan on *The Theatre,* Alan Devoe's fascinating *Down to Earth,* Fiction, Books and Open Forum.

## Mercury Authorship and Mercury Readership

Once again Mercury authorship and Mercury readership have proved themselves a combination that "makes things happen." When Emery Reves wanted to reach opinion leaders with his fresh and rather startling views on "How to Civilize Germany", he sent his article to THE AMERICAN MERCURY. Let Mr. Reves tell what happened after publication: "*. . . . newspapers commented editorially . . . some reprinted large portions of the article . . . a number of radio stations broadcast it. I heard that in an important government department it was the subject of lengthy discussions. One Allied embassy sent copies to its home office . . . another forwarded them to the nine governments in London, forming a committee to decide post-war policies toward Germany.*" What happened to the Reves article proves again what has long been recognized — THE MERCURY is the *magazine of opinion that makes things happen.*

Lawrence E. Spivak PUBLISHER

one would not agree with all of them—which should attract the American public for which the book was written; the answers are interesting and important in themselves, and the author's style is excellent and well sustained. Moreover, one gathers the impression that among students of social policy in this country New Zealand's program of social legislation and its extension of economic planning promise to attract as much attention in the future as Sweden's "middle way" used to do. Professor Wood's story gives support to New Zealand's claim to have reestablished a lead in social legislation, but his examination of recent policies and of depression programs before the Labor government took office in late 1935 is too much of the style of "on the one hand, but on the other"; so that he gives little indication of his personal views, and we still await critical analysis. The special student of these problems, of the general economic problems of a "dependent" economy exporting farm products to distant markets, or of the problems of adjustment facing the indigenous Maori people, or of those of education and culture in a vigorous but still security-minded people will want to pursue those matters farther in the authorities listed; but those with such specialized interests cannot do better than accept "Understanding New Zealand" as a preliminary assignment. I hasten to add that the book is not designed primarily for the specialist but for the general reader, who will be introduced to a land of great natural beauty and with a history of pioneering settlement in some ways as romantic as that of North America.

H. BELSHAW

## *CONTRIBUTORS*

OSCAR LANGE, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, is an anti-Nazi exile from Poland.

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GAETANO SALVEMINI was professor of modern history at the University of Florence until 1925, when he was arrested as an opponent of fascism. He is now teaching history at Harvard. His latest book, written in collaboration with George La Piana, is "What to Do with Italy."

McALISTER COLEMAN is a New Jersey journalist with long experience in left-wing politics.

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# FICTION IN REVIEW

## Genus Lost Generation

ALTHOUGH "This Very Sun" by Edith Heal (Crown Publishers, $1.25) is very short, scarcely longer than a novelette, its method is somewhat closer to the method of full-length than of short fiction; it is divided into chapters, and this regular division of the material permits the author more movement among her characters than is usual in a novelette. But judged even as a work of less ambition than a full-length novel, "This Very Sun" is difficult to estimate for its literary value because of a startling lack of connection between its matter and its manner. Perhaps when an author can write with as much authority and address as Miss Heal, she has the responsibility to write in a better emotional idiom. Miss Heal's manner certainly promises a more serious narrative than she ever produces, and a far deeper insight into character.

The prose of "This Very Sun" is rich, bold, untouched by cliché. Its people, on the other hand, while they present to the first examination enough surface eccentricity to pass as being freshly and powerfully characterized, are actually stale and unprofitable. Miss Heal's novel might be studied as proof that it takes more than the flashing of the facets of personality to add up to a fully rounded personality, and more than the knowledge of idiosyncrasy to excite the response we would give to truly created people. Perry K, the world-famous photographer running away from his own fat body; Burd, the arthritic non-writing writer; Justine, who loves Burd because he protects her from other men—all these are, I am afraid, regulation types, at bottom familiar specimens of the genus lost generation. Miss Heal sets her story in an Arizona resort town to which people come chiefly for their health. Yet there is no greater concentration of body and soul sickness in "This Very Sun" than there is, say, in the novels of New York or Chicago in which all the characters go to hell to the accompaniment of Bix Beidebecke; nor is the sickness any more meaningful. Despite the fact that there is no touch of hot jazz in Miss Heal's speech—for which we can only be grateful—the emotional idiom of her novel is very little removed from the idiom of the hot-jazz view of the disintegrating modern psyche.

There is a small passage in Miss Heal's novel which I think provocative. The writer, Burd, is having a fantasy about the novel he would like to write. It is about arthritics, and he is asked about the propriety of such a subject for fiction. Burd answers that since the "lungers" have had their magic mountains, why not the arthritics? It occurred to me when I had finished the book, not while I was reading it, that if, instead of allowing such a simple-minded understanding of "The Magic Mountain" to go unchecked, Miss Heal had herself—in private, I mean—at that moment thought through the significance of calling Mann's novel a story of "lungers," she might have preserved her own novel from being merely a story of neurotics. She might even have given it the dimension that comes from seeing sick people whole and in relation to society, as Mann does, instead of only in their sick spots.

DIANA TRILLING

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## Drama

*JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH*

GIRL children who are subnormal or at least retarded must, I suppose, still occasionally turn up in the American family, but they are certainly being neglected by the playwrights of today. The female adolescent has recently become as familiar a figure on the stage as the bootlegger once was, but she is now invariably represented as a monster of sophistication, thoroughly conversant with both Freud and Marx, instantly prepared to undertake the settlement of all affairs either international or domestic, and apparently in the incipient stages of nymphomania. When fourteen- or sixteen-year-olds appear among the dramatis personae you may rest assured that they will be, not "Little Women," but little "women," or, if the literary allusion needs explanation, that they will seem less like the creatures of Miss Alcott's imagination than like immature specimens of the genus studied by Mrs. Luce before she began to devote her talents to the service of political idealism.

Perhaps it was a minor character in "The Philadelphia Story" which started the cycle and perhaps it was "Junior Miss" which established the formula, but we have had since then "Kiss and Tell," "Janie," "Violet," and now, latest but probably not last, "Dear Ruth," which has just started what looks like a successful career at the Henry Miller Theater. The piece is credited to Norman Krasna, and the mystery is that he has managed to make it amusing enough with no more than the minimum of variation upon what is very decidedly a familiar theme. Once more we have the sophisticated upper-middle-class household, once more the romance of a girl old enough to be taken seriously, and once more the meddlesome adolescent wise enough in the ways of the world to muddle the affairs of everyone else. This being 1944 it is inevitable that the young man who comes a-wooing should be an aviator just returned after the completion of his twenty-five missions, but thinking that up can hardly have imposed any undue strain upon the author's imagination, and there is nothing else in either the plot or the dialogue which seems to diverge any farther from the expected. Yet, as I have already suggested, "Dear Ruth" gets its laughs where it expects them, persuades the audience to take its romantic elements as seriously as need be, and in general glides smoothly along from 8:40 to 10:50.

One explanation probably is that the plot, for all its conventionality, is more dextrously managed than the plot of "Junior Miss," and that the dialogue, without being at any moment memorable, is full of gentle good humor even though it is seldom really witty. Another may be that the terrible child is played by Lenore Lonergan, who is not only an actress of considerable expertness and awkward charm but also one who ought by now to know how to play a role she played before in both "The Philadelphia Story" and "Junior Miss." Most important of all, perhaps, is the fact that the author successfully resisted that temptation to which the exploiters of already familiar material usually succumb, the temptation, I mean, to go their predecessors one better by making everything more noisy, more far-fetched, and more generally frenetic than it has ever been before. The curtain rises on an unusually inviting living-room, the father and mother turn out to be agreeable people, the young lovers are played by a very pleasant young man and young woman, even the terrible child o'ersteps not too far the modesty of nature, and the result is that one finds oneself wishing well to the whole enterprise. Neither my approval of "Dear Ruth" nor the apparent approval of the public will, I hope, encourage other authors to suppose that still more plays about over-clever adolescents are just what the American theater needs, but the latter might easily welcome a fresher subject treated with Mr. Krasna's skill.

"Dark Hammock" (Forrest Theater) is a would-be thriller which manages somehow to miss most of even the elementary excitement which might seem inseparable from the story of a beautiful woman who is caught lacing her husband's eggnog with a decoction of match-heads. Quite passable detective stories have been made out of material no more promising than this, but the author, having first taken the dangerous decision to let her audience in on the secret from the beginning, finds it impossible to keep the play from coming to a premature end by any method except that of endowing her amateur sleuths with a maddening obtuseness.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

AN ESSAY ON WALT WHITMAN
*By Lionel Trilling*

THE DILEMMA OF T. S. ELIOT
*By Sidney Hook*

## Art

*CLEMENT GREENBERG*

LANDSCAPE and still life are the genres in which painting since early in the nineteenth century has been most at home, particularly in this country. In their treatment of nature and the familiar, handled object, our minor painters found an inflection all their own, expressing a hesitancy, a delicate diffidence toward the world around them. The result was pathos, charm, domesticity; somewhat the same attitude produced somewhat the same result in English painting. But an art ambitious in any real sense must discard reserve and treat nature high-handedly, coloring it with more subjective emotion or imposing anthropological order upon it. Anglo-Saxon painting was usually not ambitious enough—yet achieved in compensation a unique lyric charm.

Marsden Hartley was half lyricist and half architect, then half *fauve* and half expressionist; this was his difficulty and the source of the unevenness for which he is blamed. The many different influences, impulses, and aspirations woven into his art sharpened these contradictions. Alternately or simultaneously he converted his means from Rouault, Ryder, Cézanne, Derain, Vlaminck, Segonzac, Courbet, cubism, Oriental art.

In 1928 Hartley wrote that he was renouncing "imagination." "I have lived the life of the imagination, but at too great an expense. . . . I have made the complete return to nature, and nature is, as we all know, primarily an intellectual idea." But intellect had always played a large role in his painting, though not in the way he imagined. Hartley's notion of modern art was that of stylization: impressionism, expressionism, cubism, abstractionism were for him so many different modes of stylizing, and his effort to stylize was deliberate—and characteristic of that sad misapprehension of "modernistic" art under which so many of the first attempts to acclimatize post-impressionist tendencies over here were made. Cubism, for instance, was taken for something decorative, to be *applied*. The organic, internal necessities from which cubism, and nothing else, had to issue were not felt.

Hartley was preeminently a man of emotion, and started from emotion. But he succeeded only when his applied aesthetic broke down and the emotion broke through—that is, when he kept

his eye on the end instead of on the means. Yet even in his best work a final pressure is missed that could have come only from a higher spontaneity. A certain excess of feeling, which he could not quite handle in paint, sought its way out through an unconscious symbolism of stylized shapes that partook more of writing than of painting, where it seemed an unwarranted, unpainterly, too deliberate intrusion. It was not for nothing that Hartley wavered between poetry and painting. The sadder results of stylization can be seen particularly in his later figure pieces with their raw reds and hot blues, where design becomes arithmetical, stiff with symmetry, parallel verticals, and objects arranged seriatim in rows. Few of these strictures apply, however, to his still lifes, which are most free of stylization.

In Hartley's best work every color is successfully related to black—as in Rouault. After his early fling at the high palette of the later impressionists and of the *fauves,* he went to earth colors, prussian blues, dark grays, and blacks and chalky whites. He painted his strongest still lifes in earth colors, adopting the tonal keys and the massive simplifications of shape and value of Derain and Vlaminck. For a while during the last war he flirted with cubism and a kind of abstractionism, giving the latter a German accent and typically and almost completely misunderstanding both. But he soon returned to his dark still lifes and to monumental landscapes influenced, I think, by Segonzac and certainly by Ryder. He was never quite at ease in the landscape and made it too much a matter of architecture, which was wrong, because his gift was for the close at hand, the tangible, not for the ambiguities of space—or rather he could not organize space that he could not touch. Thus his still lifes show far more three-dimensional quality than he ever attained in landscape or seascape, where his habit of reducing the salient incidents of surface as well as form to drastically definite and monolithic silhouettes denied space by decorating it. Even the best of his open-air pictures—and some of them are very good—have a disturbing thinness; one wants something more under the paint surface itself.

There was in Hartley something of the seer and enthusiast in the William Blake line. He eschewed the oracular, but his art still seems to yearn toward an esoteric center. The stylization, the objects—the birds, fish—the archaic formalization—the carved clouds, hammered surf, modeled mountains—all hint at yang and yin, the cabala of fish, trees, and old shoes. The resemblances in Hartley's painting to Oriental art, more a question of spirit than of matter or influences, are not accidental.

Hartley died in 1943 at the age of sixty-six. The present comprehensive exhibition of his work at the Museum of Modern Art (through January 7) and the joint show at Knoedler's and Rosenberg's (through December 30) reveal him as of greater stature than one had thought. He was not a great artist, and, as I have said, he was radically uneven, but his reputation will grow as time passes. The limitations of the art are in some peculiar way redeemed by the large character of the man.

# Music

*B. H. HAGGIN*

THE great radio public hasn't heard "Fidelio"; and not only does it tend to think of what it doesn't hear as not worth hearing, but it has been told that the opera is one of Beethoven's failures. So it was a good thing for Toscanini to include "Fidelio" in his series of Beethoven broadcasts; though there is a question whether the public's ears were able to fight through its preconceptions to hear the wonderful expressiveness, dramatic force, and spiritual elevation of the music. Also there is the question whether a public accustomed to regard the staggering piling-up of *Leitmotiven* at the end of Wagner's "Götterdämmerung" as the highest development of operatic method is capable of appreciating quiet climactic sublimities like *Contessa, perdono* at the end of Mozart's "Figaro" or *O Gott! welch' ein Augenblick!* at the end of "Fidelio."

Some years ago the late William J. Henderson, in a week-end article about opera, contended that since it was a form of poetic drama it could have the best music ever written but would not hold the interest of its audience if it was not good theater. His example was "Fidelio": how often was it given; how much public approval did it get when it was given? And why? It had "one great vocal number, a scena drammatica for soprano, two good choruses which would be better placed in an oratorio than in a drama, and an overture which is one of the immortal masterpieces of orchestral music"—not enough to save a work with "one scene, no more, completely saturated with the blood of the theater."

But at that point Henderson still had two-thirds of his column to fill (the intellectual crimes that are committed by the journalists with space to fill, a living to earn!); and continuing with what had operated against good music drama he referred to the public's love of the exceptional singing voice—"'Tristan und Isolde' entered upon a new lease of life when the public became emotional over Mme. Flagstad's Isolde"—and ended by contending that a new Caruso would bring back all the works with brilliant tenor roles. "For in the opera house there is and always has been a resort for those who do not take the drama in any of its forms very seriously and who find life more delightful when they can listen for a brief moment to beautiful sounds and not have to do any thinking."

We had, then, the contention that it is drama the public wants, and the contention that the public does not take the drama seriously and wants only beautiful singing; the contention that "Fidelio" fails because it is not dramatic, and the contention that "Tristan" succeeds because of a Flagstad. But actually "Tristan" had not been headed for the rubbish-heap before Flagstad's arrival; it had been one of the staples in the Metropolitan's repertory not only when it had been sung well by Leider and Melchior but in all the years when it had been sung badly by other sopranos and tenors. And it certainly had not held its place because Isolde's long narrative and her long verbal duel with Tristan in the first act, their long duet and King Marke's long monologue in the second act were exciting theater.

The English critic E. J. Dent once observed that the only thing which made a character in an opera convinc-

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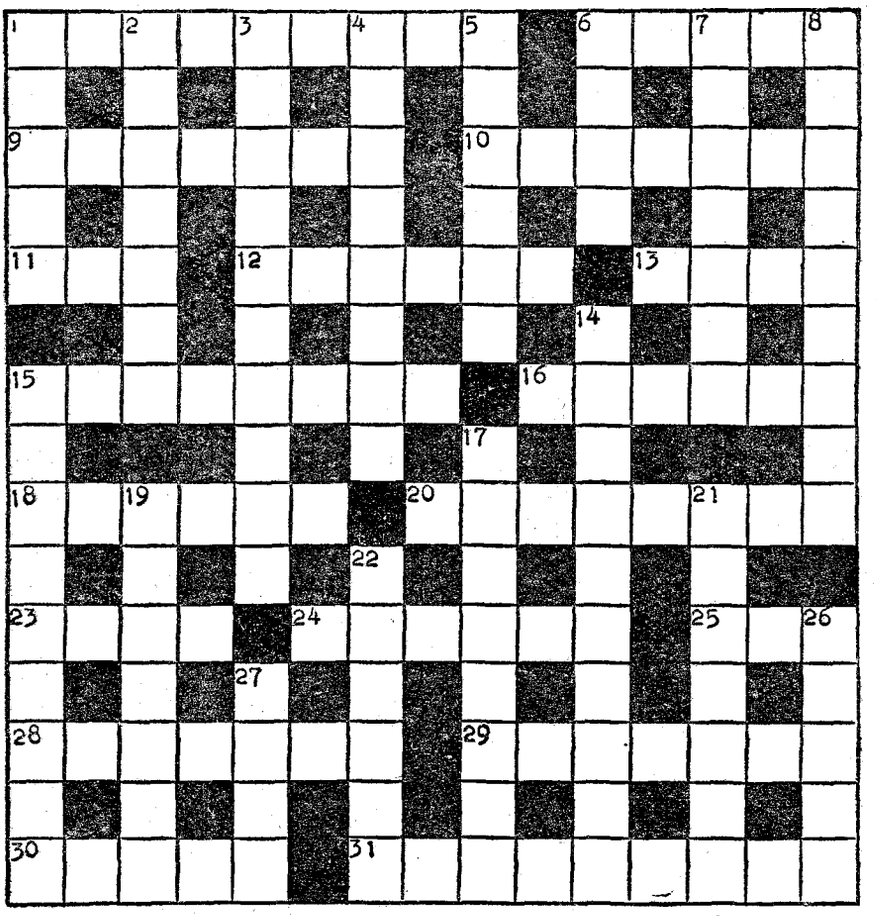
# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 96

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

1 Though no mathematician, he can make two into one!
6 Resembles a lark in plumage and a wagtail in habits
9 "Not I, Moe!" (anag.)
10 A pet, a mountain and an article for an American tree
11 Great god—he's dead
12 Important item in kit, etc., of traveller
13 Original man who had the makings of a mother!
15 Heartening
16 Autumn feed for the little horse?
18 Bathe and put me where I'm christened
20 It has taken wings during this war
23 You may take a boy to it, but you won't perhaps make him absorb it
24 Fabulous creature which, from the looks of it, wasn't very quick-moving
25 I rise to the right, and sink to the left
28 A term in clothing
29 Impress deeply
30 One of seven deadly sins
31 The agreement omits the place of agreement

## DOWN

1 A peach might be—but never is in England
2 Proclaim with some weight
3 Brilliant—and don't leave the inside lying about
4 How the headmaster looked when he was caning me
5 Recesses—in the Hall of Fame, perhaps
6 It can't be too short for the golfer
7 "That very knowing, overflowing, easy-going -------, The Duke of Plaza-Toro"
8 One's fellow-players (hyphen, 4-5)
14 An African follows a Mexican card game in what was once part of Serbia
15 Proverbially heaven helps those who dine here
17 Giuseppe Verdi's American counterpart (two words, 3 and 5)
19 Not among those present
21 There'll always be one, the song assures us
22 Not a yes-man
26 "You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will, But the ----- of the roses will hang round it still" (Moore)
27 Lord, take a peek!

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 95

ACROSS:—1 COLORADO; 5 STOICS; 10 MEASURE; 11 ADORING; 12 DOTED; 13 MARCH HARE; 14 AWASH; 16 REDUCTIO; 19 ABSTRACT; 22 RONDO; 24 CALF'S FOOT; 26 OFFER; 28 IONIANS; 29 AGITATO; 30 NIECES; 31 SKINNERS.

DOWN:—1 COMEDIAN; 2 LEAST; 3 ROUND SHOT; 4 DREAMER; 6 TOOTH; 7 IMITATION; 8 SUGDEN; 9 MADRID; 15 AMBULANCE; 17 CORROSION; 18 BOURBONS; 20 AROUSE; 21 TITLARK; 23 ACTION; 25 SHADE; 27 FLAME.

ing and interesting was the music he was given to sing; and that it did not matter that the music delayed the action, because as long as it held our interest it destroyed our sense of time. In other words the drama in an opera must be in its music; that is where it is in those long scenes without any action in "Tristan"; and it was the music of "Tristan" that had held the public's interest in those scenes and kept the work in the Metropolitan's repertory even as it had been performed by poor singers and the wretched orchestra of the Gatti-Casazza period. So with "Fidelio": it happens to have the lively and clear dramatic action that "Tristan" lacks; but more important is the fact that it has some of the greatest dramatic music outside of Mozart's operas, ranging from the charming opening duet to things like the quartet *Mir ist so wunderbar,* Leonore's *Abscheulicher!,* her duet with Rocco, the introduction to the dungeon scene and Florestan's *"Gott! welch' Dunkel hier,* the duet, trio, and quartet that follow, and *O Gott! welch' ein Augenblick!* at the end.

How often is it given, asked Henderson, and with how much public approval? Constantly and with enormous public approval in German Europe, is the answer; and if that isn't so in this country it proves a defect not in "Fidelio" but in impresarios and public. In 1936, when Henderson asked his questions, Mozart's "Figaro" and Verdi's "Otello" had been out of the Metropolitan's repertory for somewhere around twenty years; would he have contended that they too were poor theater insufficiently compensated for by the music? Or would he have conceded the operation of insensitiveness to greatness, of indifference to it, of inertia? For one thing inertia of ideas: "Fidelio" has been produced and loved in Europe because it has been thought of as an opera worthy of production and love; when managers have not produced it or the public has not admired it in this country that has been because of the idea in their minds that it has only "one scene . . . completely saturated with the blood of the theater" and only "one great vocal number, a scena drammatica for soprano, two good choruses which would be better placed in an oratorio," and so on.

BUY BONDS